

The Nation

VOL. XLVIII.—NO. 1235.

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The Week.

Both branches of Congress have agreed upon a bill admitting four new States into the Union, and the President has approved the measure. Dakota is to be divided by an east and west line drawn midway across the Territory, and to constitute two States; the other two are to be created from the Territories of Washington and Montana as they now stand. Provision is made by which elections may be held in each of the four, next October, by virtue of which Senators and Representatives (one apiece of the latter, except in the case of South Dakota, which will have two) can be chosen in time to take their seats in Congress next December. This is a happy outcome of the long controversy over the matter. South Dakota and Washington have been qualified to become States for some time; North Dakota has become so; and, while it would have done Montana no harm to wait a while longer, it already has sufficient population and assurance of permanent prosperity to remove any fear of its ever turning out a second Nevada. The act has therefore the great merit of not including any Territory which ought not to come in on its merits, but which is admitted as a sort of political balance, as would have been the case if the illiterate population of New Mexico had been placed on an equality with the intelligent people of Washington. This most of the Democrats were anxious to have done, because New Mexico has of late years been Democratic, while the Republicans have had the preponderance in the northern Territories. But enough Democrats rose above partisan considerations to permit the dropping of New Mexico, and save the Union from a State wherein, according to the last census, 60 per cent. of the people could not read. The only valid criticism upon the Omnibus Act as passed is, that it works no reforms in nomenclature. Each half of Dakota clings to that name, and Washington the State will always cause confusion with Washington the capital. But the people most directly concerned would not consent to any change, and the home rule principle was allowed to govern.

This is the first time in our history that Congress has provided for admitting four States at once. The nearest approach was in the closing days of the Twenty eighth Congress, in March, 1845, when acts were passed annexing Texas and bringing in Florida and Iowa, although admission did not really occur in Iowa's case until nearly two years later. The first to join the original thirteen were Vermont and Kentucky, in 1791 and 1792 respectively; each made out of the thirteen—Vermont out of New Hampshire and New York, and Kentucky out of Virginia. In 1796 Tennessee was made, in like manner, out of North Carolina, and in 1802 Ohio

out of the Northwest Territory as organized under the Ordinance of 1787. Louisiana followed, out of the newly acquired territory in the Southwest, in 1812. Then came a period during which the rule was to balance a new slave State against a new free one, and thus admit States by pairs—Indiana and Mississippi, in 1816 and 1817; Illinois and Alabama, in 1818 and 1819; Maine and Missouri, in 1820 and 1821; Arkansas and Michigan, in 1836 and 1837; Florida and Iowa, in 1845 and 1846. After this latter date only free States were admitted—California in 1850; Minnesota in 1858; Oregon in 1859; and Kansas early in 1861. Since 1861 but four States have come in, and this has been at least one too many. West Virginia was torn from Virginia in 1863 by methods which would only have been possible in the stress of war, although it promises to justify its separate existence. Nevada is the one terrible blunder. It was made a State in 1864, when it contained only a few thousand miners, solely to strengthen the Republican party in Congress and the Electoral College, and there appears to be no chance of its ever having a large population. Nebraska, which came in during 1867, and Colorado, in 1876, complete the existing list.

The signing of the so-called "gentlemen's agreement" by all the railroad presidents whose cooperation is deemed necessary, is a very important step towards the restoration of value to a class of property upon which the value of all other property depends. The railroads have recognized and acted upon the maxim that the gods help those who help themselves. They have perceived that nothing will be done to save them from financial ruin unless they first do everything in their own power to that end. It is within their power to do, not everything, but much to check the headlong race towards bankruptcy, which the weaker ones have already reached, and which the stronger ones have been approaching at high speed. They have now done the best thing that they could do with and for each other, and they can now confidently appeal to the public for relief from the burden of unjust laws from which they are suffering. The Chicago and Alton Company have made such an appeal in their annual report just published, and have presented a state of facts which, if not answered by fair argument, must have a powerful influence in determining the course of future legislation and judicial decision. This company was by its charter expressly authorized "to fix the rates of toll in the transportation of freight and passengers over its railroad." It took the grant subject to the principle of the common law, that the rates should be reasonable and equal to all customers. In the early days of the enterprise, even while the grant was undisturbed by State interference, and even while railroads were few and competition slight, the company failed to make both ends meet. It passed into bankruptcy, and was sold under the hammer. Its stockholders realized nothing,

and its bondholders got less than fifty cents for each dollar they had invested.

This is what happened little more than twenty years ago to a railroad connecting the two largest interior cities in the country. Nearly all the Western roads had the same experience. Of twenty-four railroads coming more or less directly in competition with the Chicago and Alton, the report tells us that twenty have been forced into bankruptcy within twelve years after the State began to interfere with their operations—five of them within one year, three within two years, four within three years, one within four years, three within five years, one within eight years, two within nine years, and one at the end of twelve years. The "water" on all these roads, both the earlier and the later ones, has been seized, out of them either by the law of trade or by legislative interference. As for the Chicago and Alton itself, the report shows that the actual cash cost of the property has been \$10,989,878 more than the total amount of its stock and bonds outstanding, and that it could not be duplicated today for the sum represented by its stock and bonds and \$15,000,000 added thereto. This road is very favorably situated for purposes of traffic; it is one of the best in the country or in the world in the durability and completeness of its road bed, equipment, terminals, and everything which goes to bring in the largest results with the least expense. It can still earn a dividend for its shareholders. But as things are now going on in the Legislatures and among the Railroad Commissioners of the States in which its business is carried on, it sees only gloomy prospects for the future. Its relative position toward other less prosperous roads may be maintained, but unless a different spirit animates the people whom it serves, they will all be engulfed alike. An attempt has now been made to fix rates absolutely by State authority. This means that one party to a bargain has the power to fix the terms of both purchase and sale, and that he is restrained by no compunction or consideration for the rights of the other. This is communism without disguise. It is the essence of injustice, tyranny, confiscation.

The conference of the civil-service reformers in Baltimore which was held on Saturday was a great success, in part because it was managed by strong supporters of Gen. Harrison, and was attended and addressed by such ardent civil-service reformers as Messrs. Fouke and Swift from Gen. Harrison's own State. The resolutions were drafted by Republicans, and all the speakers were Republicans, and we are bound to say that no supporters of President Cleveland could have expressed themselves more warmly in defence of the competitive system. The resolutions, while undoubtedly expressing hopefulness as regards the attitude of the new Administration

towards the reform, do not betray any disposition to overlook possible mistakes or shortcomings. In other words, unless all signs fail, Gen. Harrison will have as stern critics in his own party as any civil-service reformers could desire; but it must be admitted that all signs do fail sometimes. Mr. Theodore Roosevelt made the mistake of giving the Baltimore people, at the public meeting in the evening, to understand not only that the municipal service in New York was no better than in Baltimore, but that it had not improved since his Committee made its investigations in 1884—a palpable misrepresentation, doubtless due to the oratorical excitement of the moment. The State and municipal services have since then been placed under the competitive system, and the enormous receipts of the County Clerk and Register, over which he made merry, have been changed into moderate fixed salaries. Even the devil, as is well known, must have his due.

Mr. Fairchild has made another statement, this time to a reporter of the *Commercial Advertiser*, in which he falls back on his right, even under the Civil-Service Law, to remove without giving a reason, simply because he thinks a change will be for the good of the service. This is a good general rule, but unfortunately it is not a rule applicable to the present case. What he is criticised for in regard to his recent Custom-house removals is, that he removed after a trial on charges of fraud, before a tribunal composed of a newspaper reporter who had been previously employed as a detective, whom he armed with extraordinary and unconstitutional powers, including that of examining the accused secretly under oath, who acted both as judge and prosecutor, and whose findings were adopted and approved without giving the accused an opportunity to defend themselves; and that until the flimsy and disgraceful character of this report was exposed, he (Mr. Fairchild) allowed it to be understood and spread abroad that Byrne had discovered enormous frauds at this port, in which not only many officers of the Appraiser's Department, but many leading merchants were implicated. While doing this, too, or permitting it to be done, he showed that he was actually ignorant of the fact that any importers here had complained of the acts of his new examiners, or, in other words, did not keep the run of the matter in his own office. Even in this interview he so far loses his head as to say that "the Sherers had lied in connection with the Front Street matter," which is something that a high officer of the Government should not say publicly of any man in his employment, without proof, and particularly of men whose character is considered by those who know them just as good as Mr. Fairchild's, and whose word is considered just as reliable. He now promises, we suppose under recent spurring, "an exhaustive account" for District-Attorney Walker to base indictments on—a composition which he ought to have produced just one year ago, but of which, we venture to predict, we shall not hear much more.

Col. W. W. Dudley, the Treasurer of the Republican National Committee, has sued the *Evening Post* for libel for printing that letter of his about the "floaters in blocks of five." The *Evening Post* obtained an order from the Supreme Court here to examine him in Washington before trial about the letter, whether he wrote it in whole or in part, or, if he wrote it in part, what part, and so on; or, in other words, ask him for the explanations which all Christian gentlemen are eager to give when their reputation is unjustly assailed. A subpoena was successfully served on the Colonel, fixing his examination for the 27th inst. But, instead of joyously hailing this opportunity of vindicating himself from an odious imputation, the Colonel gave notice of his intention to apply to the court in Washington to have the summons quashed, so that his examination might not take place! Is it possible that we are wholly mistaken as to the practice of Christian gentlemen in the matter of unjust accusations? Is it really true that, when charged with doing a disgraceful thing, they cut, run, break away, and avoid their accusers, and absolutely decline to be questioned touching allegations made against their integrity? It certainly used not to be so. In old times they met the enemy in the gate, and it was the accuser who used to run away.

A correspondent calls our attention, in the interest of Mr. and Mrs. Harrison, to the American vice of hand-shaking. It is the common experience of occupants of the White House that their right hands and arms become swollen and well-nigh paralyzed after each struggle with the hand-shakers at a public reception. There is no tyranny so imperious, there is no custom so senseless, as that which condemns the President of the United States and his wife to grasp the hand of every citizen and every citizeness who comes to the White House during the space of four years, and as often as they come. If we cannot reform it altogether, we might do so by degrees, and we make the suggestion to President Harrison accordingly, that a rule be established that only one hand shake be allowed to each person during four years. This rule would necessarily require some bookkeeping. The usher would be required to take down the name of each person favored with a clasp of the Presidential palm, and make an alphabetical index of the same. Such persons should be notified by posters or otherwise of the rule in force, and when retiring should be put upon their honor not to claim the privilege of hand-shaking at the White House again during the present term. If anybody were caught violating the rule, he should be forbidden to enter the Executive Mansion during the next four years. Gradually the vice of hand-shaking would become unfashionable, just as the practice of taking a drink when the ceremony of introduction occurs has become, and so eventually we might get back to the custom of Washington and Jefferson, with whom a bow from the gentlemen and a

courtesy from the ladies was the customary form of greeting.

Poor Foraker! Less than a year ago he was running for a Presidential nomination on the great issue that President Cleveland had snubbed him, and yet to-day he is struggling desperately to prevent the Republican party of Ohio from throwing him overboard. When he failed to get either first or second place on the Presidential ticket, he began to work for a Cabinet position. Now he appears to have abandoned hope of that, for he has had one of the few Republican newspapers of Ohio that are not tired of him "nail his name to the masthead" as a candidate for reelection to the Governorship. This proposal appears to have split the Republican press of the State, for a large number of the more powerful members of it are crying out that the party has had all it can stand of Foraker, and that he must step aside. Of course he refuses to step aside. He is as warlike now as he was when he drew his sword and prepared to die rather than surrender the battle flags at the call of a "rebel Congress"; and if he is thrown overboard, it will only be after such an uproar as the State has not heard in many a day. It is in accordance with the eternal fitness of things that Ohio, which nourished and developed this preposterous statesman, should have all to itself the job of ridding politics of him.

The *Independent* contains an interesting "symposium" by Southern educators on the question whether the negro should be educated or suppressed. A text was found in the article written by Senator Eustis of Louisiana for the *Forum* a few months ago, which represented the hopeless attitude of the Southern Bourbons. As Mr. Eustis has been discarded for his Bourbonism even by his own somewhat unprogressive State of Louisiana, having been refused a reelection to the Senate, somewhat undue importance appears to have been attached to his utterance. However, it is pleasant to find how universally it is disavowed and condemned by the leaders of Southern thought, and how hopeful is the view which such men take of the future. All of these writers hold that the Southern problem can be solved only by the education of the negroes, and all of them hold that it is certain to be solved in this way. Mr. John H. Boyd of Durant, Miss., illuminates the situation when he says that the question is not how to secure the negro his vote at the next election, but how to elevate him in intelligence and virtue, because "when the negro has been qualified by education and character, he will secure his rights as naturally as the heir enters into his property on reaching his majority."

A valuable contribution to the discussion is made by Prof. F. C. Woodward of the University of South Carolina. He points out that, since the decision of the Supreme Court annulling the Civil Rights Act, the

adjustment of these matters—which, by the way, affect the negro far more constantly and powerfully than does the exercise, or non-exercise, of the suffrage—has been left to the operation of time, education, and other natural causes. Prof. Woodward thinks it strange that this analogy is not applied to the settlement of the negro's political status, and says that “if any phase of this question is liable to natural and peaceable methods, this more than any demands the application of such methods.” He might have strengthened his argument by pointing out that the political status of the negro has already been satisfactorily adjusted through the operation of natural causes in some parts of the South, and that the same process will ultimately produce the same result in the other parts. It must take more time in some States than in others, but “the strong arm of the Government” cannot press forward the process.

A remarkable illustration of the rapid progress which is making in the right direction down South is afforded by a discussion in the Texas Legislature a few days ago. A bill had passed the Senate requiring railroad companies to provide separate coaches for whites and blacks, and it was favorably reported to the House. But it was earnestly opposed by both white Democrats and colored Republicans, and was finally referred to a special committee under circumstances which virtually made this action equivalent to its rejection. The strongest reason presented for its passage was the fact that, under the present system, rowdyish negro men sometimes insist upon taking seats by respectable white women simply in order to annoy them. But the wiser speakers urged that such difficulties should be disposed of as rowdyism is ordinarily disposed of. “As the railroads are now conducted,” said one white member, “good colored men can separate themselves from the bad. It is not derogatory to us to sit down in the cars with gentlemanly colored men.” Another white member held that the question was one to be settled by time, precisely as the similar question on the street-cars had already been settled. Two colored members took the same view. “It would be better to let the people settle it themselves,” said one of them. “The white people in my country treat us well,” said the other, who represents a county where the population is almost equally divided between the two races. When colored Republicans and white Democrats of a Southern State which gives 140,000 Democratic majority talk in this way, there is certainly no reason for Northern Republicans of the “Bill” Chandler school to think that any interference on their part is called for.

It is announced that leading colored citizens of Lynchburg, Va., have just organized a real-estate and trust company with a capital of \$20,000. The *Wilmington (N.C.) Messenger*, commenting on this, says that “the colored man is a better citi-

zen as he thrives and becomes a stockholder in the property interests of the community,” and expresses the opinion that when habits of industry, economy, and thrift have been well instilled among them, “we shall hear little of political disturbance and outrage, or of threatened race conflicts.” The negro already votes freely in Virginia, and Gen. Armstrong of Hampton testifies that he “is quick to see the result of good government, especially in State and local affairs, and to cast his vote for the man whom he thinks most likely to serve best in office.” It appears from the testimony of Mr. Harris, a Democratic member of the Alabama Senate, that the same thing is coming to be true of the latter State. “It has been said,” he remarked in a recent speech, “that the negroes in all elections are always found arrayed against the best element in society. It may be true that in all Federal elections they vote en masse. Yet, sir, my observation is that in local elections they are very nearly equally divided. Very many of them are earnest workers for the best interest of society, and conduct themselves with much propriety, for which they are held in high esteem.”

We observe the passage in the Missouri House of a bill providing that no language shall be taught in the public schools of the State except English, and that all instruction shall be given in English. Missouri has a considerable German element, which is largely massed in a few districts, and which is in some counties the controlling influence. The result is that in a large number of school districts the English branches have been almost entirely crowded out of the public schools by the German residents, who constitute the majority in the districts. In more than one-half of the school districts in Gasconade County nothing but German is taught, and a letter was read which had been addressed to the State Superintendent of Public Schools by a resident of the county, who said that the schools there were ruled by a foreign element, many of whom are unnaturalized and unable to speak the English language. The most noteworthy feature of the discussion was the hearty support given the proposed change in the law by German members. Mr. Vogel, who said he was a “Dutchman,” and that he was therefore entitled to speak as he pleased, declared that he was also an American, and said that he wanted to see every man who came to America adapt himself to the laws of this country, and not try to follow here the customs of any foreign country. There was no more reason, he said, for making German the language of common schools in Missouri than there was for furnishing common-school instruction in Hungarian, Chaldaic, or Chinese. The Republicans, who carried the Congressional districts in St. Louis last fall through an alliance with the “Personal-Liberty League” of German beer-sellers, held a caucus and made opposition to the bill a party measure, but it was carried by a vote of 57 to 38.

The Sackville correspondence has been printed in full, and, now that the election excitement is over, is somewhat melancholy reading. The trick played on Lord Sackville was a very sorry one, but until it was taken up and made much of by a great political party, it disgraced nobody but Osgoodby, the obscure Californian who concocted it. It was this which forced the Administration to take hold of it, and make much of it, and demand the recall of a foreign minister on account of it, or, in other words, exhibit to the world the sorry spectacle of a great nation thrown into violent agitation by the petty fraud of an individual. The language used by Mr. Bayard in describing Lord Sackville's behavior now seems very strong indeed. Unhappily it did not seem too strong last November. What lesson the affair teaches we can not say. The best disposition to make of it is to forget it as soon as possible, with the pious hope that nothing like it may ever occur again.

The English Unionist newspapers received by the last mail furnish curious reading, owing to the complete unconsciousness of danger they show with regard to the Parnell Commission. In running through their columns one seems to be listening to citizens chatting in the forum of Pompeii the evening before the eruption. Not the slightest trace do they contain of any apprehension of the tremendous calamity that was impending over the *Times* and the whole scheme of Unionist morality. Mr. Chamberlain is still making those “effective” and “luminous” speeches of his in which he for the hundredth time demolishes Gladstone, turns John Morley inside out, and exhibits the Irish to the scorn and reprobation of the truly good of both hemispheres. Poor Gladstone still goes on wearying and disgusting his admirers, and Morley making hideous blunders in fact and argument, and Trevelyan displaying his hysterics and his guilty conscience to a pitying public. The Unionist orators were, in fact, up to Saturday week under the visible protection of the Almighty, for nothing but supernatural oversight could keep men so constantly just and true and right as they were, until Pigott took the stand. What has happened in London is, in fact, the only earthquake of which the causes are fully understood. The only sign of preision on the part of the *Times* has been its persistence in postponing the question of the authenticity of the letters so long, when the proof of it in the beginning would have made the production of the testimony about outrages unnecessary, as it would have ruined Parnell and his followers at one blow, and perhaps have led to their trial and indictment. No adequate idea of the gravity of the situation for the *Times* can as yet be formed. Surrender would not only expose the manager, Mr. Macdonald, and Houston, the young man who led him astray, to indictment for conspiracy with Pigott, but lay the paper open to libel suits on the part of the Irish which it could not defend, and which might ruin the property for some years to come.

A NEW WAR AGAINST LABOR-SAVING MACHINES.

ONE of the most disgraceful manifestations of the spirit of Labor is the attempt to abolish steam plate presses from the Bureau of Engraving and Printing. The House of Representatives succumbed to its malignant influences, and recorded its vote against these valuable labor saving machines, but the Senate has refused to concur.

The agitation against the steam plate presses began more than a year ago. "We demand," said the impudently dictatorial resolution adopted by the General Assembly of the Knights of Labor held in Minneapolis in October, 1887, "that all Government securities, notes, bonds, checks, and stamps shall be printed in the highest style of the art of plate-printing from hand roller presses, so as to secure the Government and the public against loss by wear and counterfeiting." The admirable and patriotic motives here given rest upon the assumption that securities printed on steam presses wear out faster and are more easily counterfeited than those printed on hand presses.

Only a mind muddled and confused by Labor can for a moment understand how a steam press is more conducive to the destruction and imitation of bank notes, or silver certificates, or internal-revenue stamps than a hand press. The operations involved in the production of a Government security are the same on both presses, the difference being that hand power does the work on one that machine power does on the other. In the first place, the intaglio-engraved plate is inked in with a roller charged with ink; in the second place, the thick coating of ink thus adhering to the plate is wiped off with a muslin rag, leaving the depressed lines of the engraving filled with the fluid; in the third place, the surface of the plate, which is still covered with a thin film of ink, is polished with the palm of the hand which has been rubbed over a cake of whiting; in the fourth place, after the sheet of paper is laid on the plate, both are run under a roller heavily swathed in layers of felt to prevent the lines of the engraving from being crushed or marred in any way. It is the second operation that constitutes the bone of contention. "It is impossible for any machine to be utilized to handle a rag," said one of the witnesses before the sub-committee of the Senate Finance Committee charged with the duty of investigating this question. Only an ignoramus that had never heard of the wonderful work of the Jacquard loom could have made such a statement. "This constant exercise of discrimination and judgment in going over the plate," said the attorney for Labor, speaking of the high order of intellect required to manipulate a piece of cloth two yards long, "is the substantial reason why we contend that hand printing is superior to steam printing."

A technical discussion of the absurdity of this position is not necessary. The observation that "the test of the pudding is the eating thereof," is more pertinent to the controversy; for it makes no difference how a note

has been printed if it is properly printed. What is the character of the work done on steam presses, and wherein does it differ from the work done on hand presses? Happily the means for arriving at a correct answer to this question is within the reach of every person who has a new silver certificate in his pocket, or possesses a box of cigars with an internal-revenue stamp upon it. Up to the present time the eighteen steam presses in the Bureau have been chiefly used to print internal-revenue stamps and the backs of silver certificates. The faces of certificates are printed on hand presses, it having been thought, although not conclusively proved, that steam presses could not be used for the finest grades of work. If, therefore, all doubting Thomases will examine the back and the face of the one dollar silver certificate, for instance, they can see for themselves whether the fine lines are printed as clearly and distinctly on one side as on the other, and whether, without a previous knowledge of the two kinds of printing, any distinction between them could be detected. Even the four experts that appeared before the Senate sub-committee in behalf of Labor could not tell the difference with any degree of certainty. Of the eleven opinions that they gave upon sheets of notes printed by hand and by steam, and marked for the guidance of the committee, eight were wrong and only three were right—that is to say, these experts could not tell a hand-printed note from a steam-printed note, although it had been declared in a petition to Congress demanding that steam presses be abolished, that "no expert with any regard for his reputation will hesitate to pronounce the work done by said presses as inferior."

The allegation of Labor that these presses facilitate counterfeiting may be met in another way. The opinions of bankers and the experience of the Government are against it. Speaking of the United States silver certificates of the series of 1886, Mr. George S. Coe, President of the American Exchange National Bank, says: "The backs of them all, which I have carefully examined, are, in printing and in every other particular, in the best style of the printer's art, and I see nothing in them to condemn, but everything to commend their workmanship." Mr. George F. Baker, President of the First National Bank, testifies to the same effect. "I see nothing in them," he adds, "to facilitate counterfeiting more than in any other series." Mr. Edmund D. Randolph, President of the Continental National Bank, makes this statement: "As far as there being any appearance of deterioration in any part of the work as compared with former issues, or anything which would in any way facilitate counterfeiting, we entertain quite the opposite opinion." The testimony of these men, who are as deeply interested in preserving the integrity of the currency as any of the fanatical disciples of Labor, is confirmed by the reports in regard to the production and circulation of counterfeits. Since the issue of paper money, 150 counterfeits have been detected. This is at the rate of six a year, or one every two months. During the two and a half years that silver certificates have been issued, only

two counterfeits of this class of currency have appeared. Up to September 10, 1888, only one \$1 and nine \$5 silver certificates had been presented to the Treasury for redemption. During the fiscal year of 1888, 532 separate counterfeit United States notes and national-bank notes were presented for redemption; of these, 81 United States and 106 national-bank notes were of the \$5 denomination. As they were all printed on hand presses, the conclusion required by the peculiar system of logic that Labor applies to this subject, is not beyond the reach of the ordinary intellect.

Experience shows also that notes printed on steam presses last as long as those printed on hand presses. When a plate can be used, as it has been used, on a steam press to print 163,000 first class impressions, a work requiring eight months, the evidence that it has not been subjected to a grinding process that would wear out or deface the lines of the engraving, and thus facilitate the work of the counterfeiter, would seem to be conclusive. Hence the only points in the controversy to be considered with seriousness are the real motives for the war upon steam presses and the consequences that would follow their abolition. The milk in the cocoanut is disclosed in the petition already mentioned. "Unless Congress interferes," says this document, "the attempt to force the steam presses upon the Government will succeed, and every kind of Government obligation will be printed on them, rapid cheap work being substituted for good but more costly work." It is the old opposition to labor saving machinery. The desperate effort to drive steam presses out of the Bureau has its origin in the belief that it is the only way that the men now engaged on the hand presses can retain their places. Certain it is that no other class of people—no bankers, or merchants, or farmers, or mechanics—have raised this clamor against one of the valuable creations of modern civilization.

The success of the movement in behalf of retrogression would have meant great cost and serious trouble to the Government. The substitution of hand presses for steam presses would necessitate a large addition to the force of the Bureau. At least 170 plate printers and 150 printers' assistants, besides other employees, would be required. The cost of the additional material would be over \$84,000. In round numbers, the increase in the annual expenditures of the Bureau involved in the proposed change would be over \$300,000. Large as this sum is, it does not include the entire cost of the blunder that Labor hoped to induce the Government to commit. The present building occupied by the Bureau is already filled to its utmost capacity, while the change would require the construction of a large addition or the rental and use of some private building, render valueless the steam presses now owned by the Government, and throw the work of the Bureau into confusion. It is to be hoped, therefore, on every account that the Senate will stand firm in opposing the Labor demagogues.

THE LAW OF LIBEL.

AN effort is being made, both in Massachusetts and in this State, to bring about an amendment to the law of libel of the following tenor. We quote a section of the Massachusetts bill:

"No action or prosecution for libel shall be maintained for the publication of any matter of legitimate interest to the public, if such publication is made without actual malice, and if the author or publisher thereof causes effectual retraction or correction to be made of anything untrue or mistaken in such publication as soon as practicable after being requested so to do by any person aggrieved by the original publication."

The amendment is supported, both in Albany and in Boston, by the publishers of some of the leading newspapers in both States, with whose grievances under the existing law we fully sympathize, having had some experience of them. Actions for libel, where the libel is simply the result of accident or mistake, and where all possible atonement has been promptly offered, are unquestionably very frequent and vexatious. We know about them and have suffered from them ourselves. Nevertheless, we are bound to say that we do not think the best interests either of the community or the press would be served by the proposed change in the law, for a variety of reasons, which we shall endeavor to state in as inoffensive a way as possible.

(1.) The notion that any retraction or correction can be made "effectual," in the full and proper sense of the term, is illusory. A charge against a man is always more eagerly read than his explanation or defense. Moreover, it is not possible to make any retraction or apology cover the exact ground covered by the original charge. The two things inevitably go to some extent in different directions. Large numbers of people who see one are sure not to see the other. Papers which copy one will not copy the other—a very common experience. No doubt this is partly due to the careless way in which newspapers in our day are read, but for this it is the publisher and not the person libelled who ought to suffer, if anybody is to suffer. At any rate, there is sure to remain a residuum of unredressed wrong in every libel case, no matter what gains the libeller may take to set matters right. Doubtless in a very large number of cases, the newspaper proprietor ought not to be punished for this. It may be the result of one of those inevitable risks of his calling, just as the most careful driver may now and then run over a man in the street; but each case should be judged on its merits. The law ought not to be changed in any way that will diminish vigilance.

(2.) It is the more undesirable that the law should be changed in any way to diminish vigilance, because the direction in which the newspaper business is growing is almost altogether hostile to the rights of individuals in the matter of libel or libellous annoyance. In the trade, the doctrine is being more and more accepted that the sole function of the newspaper is to make money. This doctrine was indeed openly avowed at the convention of newspaper publishers here a fortnight ago. The older notion that the editor's rôle

as an instructor or commentator was the most important one on a newspaper was scoffed at, and the early collection of whatever sort of matter would promote sales was set forth as the chief end of the newspaper publisher. Now, the enterprising publisher, intent on putting in whatever will sell his paper, is sure not to be very careful about the rights or feelings of individuals. It has been said before the Committee of the Massachusetts Legislature that he cannot sift things in "the small hours of the morning," just before his paper is going to press. Doubtless he cannot sift, but he can omit or hold over until he makes inquiries. What prevents his doing this now in any doubtful case, or makes him reluctant to do it, is the fear that a rival may "get a beat on him." The only thing which can overcome the fear of "a beat" is the fear of the law. Remove the fear of the law, and we venture to say little or no care would be exercised in examining any piece of news. Everything would go in when it was known that a few lines of apology or retraction would set any mistake to rights. Moreover, it is to be borne in mind that it is not the old and wise heads of the office who are apt to be on duty in the small hours of the morning. It is the young fellows, who dread of all things "getting left" with regard to any piece of news however trifling.

(3.) There is no sign of any change in journalism which tends to make legal restraint unnecessary. On the contrary, the changes are all in the other direction. The indifference to intellectual or moral influence, as compared to income, seems to grow. So does the tendency to seek topics of discussion in the personal or domestic life, and to eschew those of a more serious and general nature. Journalistic success is more and more measured in dollars and cents, and contempt for whatever interferes with this success is more and more openly avowed. This means that the power of the journal over the individual's comfort has increased, is increasing, and ought to be diminished.

The amendment in the law which is really called for is one which will protect journalists against sham suits—that is, suits brought for mere temporary effect on public opinion, and without any intention of prosecuting them to trial. These are numerous, and are a serious source of expense. When one is brought, a publisher has always to employ a lawyer and make more or less preparation for resistance, which inevitably costs a large part of \$500, and, in fully seven cases out of ten, the prosecutor drops them after service of the opening process. What is needed here is the filing by the plaintiff at the outset, whether he be resident or non-resident, of ample security for costs—that is, costs which will really indemnify the defendants if the case never comes to trial. No man in this community who feels sufficiently aggrieved by a newspaper to desire honestly to lay his wrongs before a jury, ought to be debarred from doing so by any technical limitation. Whether the publisher's mistake was, under the circumstances, an excusable one, and whether he

has sought to make proper atonement for it, are, like the extent of the damage the plaintiff has sustained, questions for a jury to pass on, with which juries as a general rule are eminently qualified to deal. It is an exceedingly rare thing to hear of a journalist suffering wrong at the hands of a court of law. On the other hand, the community swarms with men who suffer daily wrongs at the hands of journalists, which to some men are intolerable, with no remedy within reach which would not aggravate the pain and annoyance. It is these the lawgivers should keep in mind when legislating about the press, rather than the publishers, who are turning their tears and blushest into dollars and cents. There may come a time when the public will not need much protection from the press, but we are apparently further from it now than we were twenty-five years ago.

THE LONDON TIMES'S COLLAPSE.

With the London *Times* produced the Parnell letter in facsimile in March, 1887, we said of it, among other things, that "it would probably turn out to be a clumsy forgery like the Morey letter, and that its appearance was made doubly suspicious by the fact that it appeared on the very day on which a division was expected on the second reading of the Coercion Bill." This has proved to be a tolerably correct forecast. It now appears from the evidence of Mr. Macdonald, the manager of the *Times*, that the resolution to print the facsimile was taken very suddenly—that is, it was determined on a Saturday to print it on a Monday, and on Monday it appeared, and a division on the second reading—the crucial stage—of the Coercion Bill was expected to take place, and did take place, on that very night, April 18, 1887.

It further appears that when this facsimile was printed, for the purpose of influencing the opinion of the House of Commons on a measure of extraordinary severity directed against one portion of the United Kingdom, Mr. Macdonald, the manager, knew nothing of the origin of the letter, except what Mr. Houston told him, and Mr. Houston, who supplied it, knew nothing of it except what Mr. Pigott had told him, and Mr. Pigott was well known to be what we call in this country a "dead beat" of nearly twenty years' standing. This remarkable step, too, had been preceded by a formal announcement that Mr. Parnell's denial of the authenticity of the letter imputing to him complicity with assassins, would not have the slightest weight, and that nothing would induce the editor of the *Times* to say who gave him the letters, because, if he did, this person would surely be murdered. We believe this was the first case on record in which a person in good social standing (and not a blackmailer) produced a letter injurious to another man's character, and absolutely refused to state all his reasons for believing it to be genuine. Of course, in a case of this kind, the history of the letter is all-important. To withhold this history, while treating or using the letter as authentic, would in private life be considered infa-

mous. The fact that so many honorable and high-minded Englishmen were led by their hatred of the Irish party to acquiesce in the *Times's* view of its obligations, is perhaps as striking an argument in favor of Home Rule as the whole controversy has produced. It illustrates that state of the English mind on Irish questions which has made Irish history such a dismal tale.

The dénouement of the tragi-comedy which has since last November been dragging its slow length along before the Parnell Commission, came on Tuesday, in London, when Sir Charles Russell announced on the opening of the court that Pigott had confessed the forgery of the letters and had fled. He added, moreover, that he was prepared to prove that Pigott had been forging signatures to a greater or less extent since 1878, and that he had invested the money he got from the *Times*—some thousands of pounds—in an obscene-literature business. A warrant has accordingly been issued for Pigott's arrest, and at this writing the Attorney-General is in doubt whether he will proceed any further with the case. We do not need to point out the probable effect of all this on the fortunes of the London *Times*. The pecuniary loss, present and prospective, to that journal is of course enormous; the loss of confidence and influence is simply incalculable and certainly irremediable. In the hands of different men the paper might recover, but in those of its present managers it seems hopeless.

What is of most importance in the affair is its bearing on the fortunes of the present Ministry and on the Irish question. It is safe to say that any other Ministry which has held office since the passage of the Reform Bill, would have resigned at once under a blow of this kind, because the present Ministry has done everything it could to identify its fortunes with those of the *Times* in the pursuit of Parnell and his followers. The *Times* has been furnished with all the official documents it needed, with the assistance and testimony of all the police and magistrates and of the salaried Government spies like Le Caron, or Beach, and though last, not least, with the services of the Attorney-General as counsel. The powers of the court, too, were defined in the Act of Parliament which created it, in spite of the protests of the Liberals, in such a way, to suit the *Times*—that is, the field of inquiry was made so large, vague, and indefinite—that the framing of issues would be impossible, and judges would be unable to shut out any evidence on the ground of irrelevancy. Accordingly every crime and outrage committed in any county of Ireland was admitted as proof, more or less strong, in support of the thesis that the Irish members of Parliament were the accomplices of assassins, "moonlighters," and other offenders against persons or property. On top of them came the forged letters intended to show that Parnell was actually cognizant of and approved of the murders of Burke and Cavendish, and of the plot to murder Mr. Forster.

In legislating in this way for the benefit of the *Times*, the Ministry were undoubt-

edly giving a *quid pro quo*. When, after coqueting with the Irish in 1885, denouncing coercion, and half promising Home Rule, they found in 1886 that Gladstone's scheme was so unacceptable to the English constituencies that they could get a majority in the House without the help of the Irish, they fell back once more on the natural Tory plan of "resolute government" or "rigorous policy." In other words, they determined on a plan of coercion which should have certain novel features. One was, that the bill should be perpetual in its operation, and not limited in point of time, as all previous ones were; another was, that the power of imprisonment at hard labor as common felons under it should be given to removable justices of the peace, sitting without a jury, and that it should cover speeches or writings which should, in the eyes of these jurists, have a tendency to promote boycotting or non-payment of rent, or to prevent people from taking evicted farms. To get a bill like this passed, with the help of the Liberals who had deserted Gladstone, and large numbers of whom had pledged themselves on the stump against coercion and in favor of the government of Ireland by ordinary equal laws, of course was not an easy matter. Englishmen were not quite prepared for anything so drastic as putting it in the power of the Irish Secretary to thin the benches of the Opposition by shutting up the opponents of the Government in jail on plank beds. To carry it through, it was absolutely necessary that the Irish members should be made to figure in English eyes as common criminals, the friends and companions of assassins, so that public opinion should be prepared for any coercion bill, however ferocious.

This work the *Times* undertook by producing the pamphlet so widely known as 'Parnellism and Crime,' and by a series of articles on the Irish members, of extraordinary ferocity, in which they were really described as unfit for human society. When the Coercion Bill was ready for its second reading, facsimiles of the forged Parnell letters were produced on the morning before, and accepted by the supporters of the Government as genuine, and the bill went through with a rush. Parnell's indignant denial was received with derisive laughter, and the *Times* treated it as an aggravation of his crimes. English society then started that system of persecution in which a certain portion of it always delights. Not only were the Irish members treated as the vilest of their species, but a strict boycott was set on foot against everybody who associated with them. To have dined with Parnell or Healy entailed a sentence of exclusion from all Tory and Unionist drawing-rooms, and the "immorality" of the Home-Rulers became a favorite topic of semi-sacred journals like the *Spectator*, as well as of common secular Jingoes like the *Telegraph* and *Saturday Review*. Parnell—a very sick man—was pursued in city and country by reporters, who daily reported his movements as those of an escaped criminal, and threw out the most

odious insinuations about his walk and conversation. In fact, it is not too much to say that the life of the Irish members in London during the past two years, under the baiting of the *Times*, has been as near an approach to "hell upon earth" as is possible in a well-policed Christian city. The bulk of them were men of the ordinary somewhat coarse type which peasants have to elect when they have but few gentlemen on their side; but Parnell, and Sexton, and Dillon, and others are men of education and refinement, on whose health and spirits these long-protracted social barbarities could not but tell. At last the day of reckoning has come, and the whole "fabric of iniquity," as Mr. Gladstone has called it, has fallen to pieces through the confessions of a forger, blackmailer, and vender of obscene literature. On this wretch, whom the conductors of the *Times* actually forebore to inquire about lest they should ruin their game, nine-tenths of the superstructure seems to have rested.

HOW THE WINTER PASSES IN IRELAND.

DUBLIN, February 9, 1889.

THE position of affairs in Ireland claims peculiarly the careful attention of all interested in the government of civilized men. The field may be comparatively narrow, the people immediately concerned comparatively few, but on that field and among that people some of the most vital issues that can affect mankind are being tried, with a completeness that will leave no doubt for future generations as to the significance of the lessons illustrated. With a consensus such as few nations have ever before shown upon any question, by a proportion of 85 to 18 of her representatives—a proportion equally striking whether we consider population, area, or Government valuation represented—Ireland demands one thing, local self-government; no more than was granted with success to the separate States in your Union; less than was granted to the component parts of the German Empire; the one thing that might have kept the thirteen States united to Great Britain; the one thing without which Canada and Australia would long ago have severed the connection. This is denied to Ireland mainly because the island is not absolutely unanimous; and also in accordance with the views of a school of British politicians who hold that the desire for complete separation is inherent in the Irish, and that the only way to preserve the unity of the empire and its benefits to both parties is, to continue to coerce the weaker. The experiment is interesting and valuable, moreover, from the fact that it is approved by most of the Protestants here, who believe that force alone prevents their Catholic fellow-countrymen from re-enacting St. Bartholomew's Day; it is approved by the mass of accumulated wealth and by some of the highest education of the country. As things were a century ago, such an experiment could not be so tried. The majority would rise against the minority, and would soon be decimated or suppressed by the mother country; the pot would either boil over or boil down. To-day, in accordance with more advanced ideas of humanity which cannot be wholly set aside, effective suppression is impossible, while the resources of modern civilization prevent even a transient

assertion of power by the majority. The minority can afford to openly scorn the majority as they never could have done formerly. Greater civilization saves us from a repetition of bygone horrors, and enables the elements of society fiercely opposed to exist side by side without active hostility, as without compromise or union.

For some months we have not progressed much, one way or the other; but all that has occurred illustrates the state of feeling to which I refer. The present is a hateful and intolerable conjuncture, subversive of true life and progress; yet, through all, society goes on much as usual, marrying and giving in marriage, attending balls, concerts, and art exhibitions. At political meetings and trials the people in Ireland are met and hustled about by the police, with a wanton barbarity and a display of force which seem intended only to exasperate. When they do not "clear out" or run away fast enough, like sheep, they are mercilessly bludgeoned, as at Carrick, on the occasion of Mr. O'Brien's trial and escape. I know that the Nationalist accounts of the transaction were little if at all exaggerated. We have the central incident of William O'Brien being knocked down by warders in his cell in Clonmel jail in presence of the Governor, his clothes torn off, and his hair and beard clipped while he was semi-unconscious from the struggle; we see him forced into the garb of a felon, and, later, when he had taken it off, left in his shirt, in the expectation that cold and misery would force him to resume it. William O'Brien is beloved by all who know him; he is regarded by millions of the Irish people in Ireland and by millions abroad with as much personal veneration as the English people accord their sovereign. Through suffering and abnegation, through long years of strife on behalf of the Irish, he has endeared himself to them as no one in modern times has endeared himself to the British people. When under arrest in Manchester, he was entertained by the Mayor and Mayoress, who lodged him in rooms last occupied by royalty. A few days later occurred the disgraceful scene in Clonmel jail. At the worst crisis, when the life of O'Brien was felt to be in hourly danger, the Lord Mayor of Dublin, aware that a telegram by Government messenger is the only means by which he can certainly reach Mr. Balfour, the Governor of Ireland, telegraphed an indignant protest, demanding a reply. None comes. He waits till late at night, and then despatches a letter by hand to the Chief Secretary's lodge. Mr. Balfour's secretary addresses the messenger, a Mansion House official of forty-six years' standing, as an "impudent rascal"; says, "It is merely hounding, and if you come here again later on I will give you into the custody of the police"; then, to the police on guard outside the door—"Why did you allow him to come down here? If that impudent rascal comes here again this morning, you will take him into custody." I quote Mr. Balfour's own modified version of the incident.

Next day some one hundred and fifty Irish admirers of the Chief Secretary entertained him at dinner. The gathering was supposed to be "Liberal Unionist." The names of those present were not given to the press. Among the ninety "got at" and published by the *Freeman*, I counted seventeen Crown Prosecutors and others in Government employment. Some of the best men in Dublin were there—that is the serious part of the business. The press was excluded. Mr. Balfour made a long speech. An official report was sent to the papers, and in it "prolonged laughter," "renewed laughter," "roars of laughter," "laughter and ap-

plause," "laughter and loud applause," are noted as greeting remarks about the treatment of Mr. O'Brien and the reception of the Lord Mayor's messenger at the Chief Secretary's lodge.

The following day, Sunday, some two hundred and fifty protest meetings were held over Ireland. I attended one in a remote district, considered so comparatively unimportant that no newspaper reporters were present. It was a bitter winter's day. The district had been scouried from early morning by armed police patrols, so as to secure that no meeting should be attempted without their presence. Three Government reporters were in readiness with swift conveyances, in case more than one meeting should be held. On the field was drawn up a dark file of constabulary, shivering and sulken, an officer with his sword standing in front, as in pictures of a "line of battle" before going into action. Some thousand or two eager, bright-faced peasants listened to the speakers. John Bright once said that the British Government could put an armed man down beside each Irish civilian. Is it coming to that? Twenty-six of the Catholic archbishops and bishops joined in a "solemn protest" against the shameful indignities and "inhuman violence" inflicted on Mr. O'Brien. At all this the "sweetness and light" of Ireland thought it could afford to scoff. The *Daily Express*, the organ of what considers itself the cultivated public opinion of Ireland, wrote: "William O'Brien, M. P. for West Cork, is no less a criminal than any corner-boy who has been sent to jail for breaking a street lamp in a drunken row. That is the plain fact of the matter. . . . We care no more for the political opinions of the twenty-six archiepiscopal signatories . . . than they care for ours. . . . There is now no reason, if indeed there ever was any, for making distinctions of persons. The hierarchy and priesthood in Ireland who signed the manifesto have declared themselves the enemy of law and order."

And so the minority here could continue safely to defy the feelings and opinions of the majority—that is the key to the whole Irish question—and William O'Brien would be still perishing in his shirt, but for the indignant and noble protests of the English people, a token of that sympathy with which our cause is now regarded across the Channel, drawing together the hearts of two peoples, the surest augury of some termination to the present intolerable condition of affairs, the strongest incentive to patience on our part, the best assurance that any reasonable settlement accepted and confirmed will be loyally adhered to in the interests of union and the Irish minority.

A noteworthy event is the arrest and committal to prison at Limerick on Wednesday of Mr. Reeves, a Conservative newspaper reporter. It is a striking illustration of how a repressive system of government tends to draw into the vortex of opposition many who would most desire to live peaceably. Some of the worst landlord tyranny in Ireland has been practised upon Mr. Delmege's Glensharrold estate in the County of Limerick. The particulars are fully given in a pamphlet written after a personal investigation by Alfred E. Pease, M.P., a wealthy Englishman, a member of the Society of Friends. The estate fell into Chancery. Some of the tenants obtained relief through the land courts, rents of £110 being reduced to £75; £30 to £13; £24 to £14; £39 to £24; £317.0 to £210.0, and so on. But many tenants burdened with heavy arrears could obtain no relief; adoption of the "Plan" was their only resource. Among others Mr. Pierce

Mahony, M.P., a Protestant, an estate gentleman, and a refined, educated man, one of the Parliamentary party, attended a meeting of the tenants, and advised them to hold together in their combination. For this an attachment was issued against him by the receiver. On coming to the point it was discovered that, through some unaccountable negligence, no Government reporter had been present at the meeting, and there was no evidence of what Mr. Mahony had said. However, the presiding judge, Boyd, one of the strongest upholders of the present regime, was not to be balked. He sent for Mr. Reeves, a Conservative gentleman, who was known to have reported the meeting for his paper, and demanded that he should give evidence. Mr. Reeves demurred, urging that reporters were to a certain extent privileged, that the position they are accorded largely depends on their maintaining an independent attitude, and that this position would be forfeited if it were known that they were prepared to turn their opportunities to account as eavesdroppers for Government or people. On this Mr. Reeves, for contempt of court, has been committed to prison for an indefinite period. Our judges are not so punctilious as to their independence. We read in fashionable intelligence that on Monday, in the height of popular indignation regarding Mr. O'Brien's treatment, "Mr. Balfour was the guest of Chief Baron Falles at his Lordship's house. Some twenty-five other guests attended" D. B.

THE OLD MASTERS AT THE ROYAL ACADEMY.

LONDON, February 4.

The exhibition at Burlington House this winter is especially interesting on account of the splendid examples of Rembrandts gathered together in the long gallery. We have fourteen examples from this great master's hand, painted at different times, in the various stages of his artistic development. We recognize the earlier manner, in which he seemed to seek merely the realization of the sitter, in the portrait of the painter's mother (164, from Sir Richard Wallace's collection—a three-quarter figure of an old lady dressed in black silk, against a gray background, looking towards the spectator. This canvas is dated 1632, and in "The Shipbuilder and his Wife," dated a year later (No. 167), we see the same precision of touch, the same firm modelling and clear bright color in the flesh tints, with shadows golden and transparent in their depths. This latter picture, lent by the Queen from the Buckingham Palace collection, is said to be the first work of art ever sold in England for the sum of five thousand pounds. This detail does not add to its interest, which is extreme for itself, the subject being so vividly represented. The shipbuilder is seated to the left of the spectators, near a window, and is evidently much engrossed with a design he is just drawing. Books, papers, and an inkstand are on a table beside him. He has been roughly called from the subject of his study by the good housewife, whom we see just coming in through a door she holds open. She is handing him a letter over the back of his chair, he is turning to take it. One can see by his expression the interruption is unwelcome, and that he is only half giving his attention to the fussy little lady in white cap and collar and black dress, who seems to be the very personification of stern reality and household cares. The man's dress is black with a white ruff. Although the picture is so sober in its colors, having only black and white and

brown besides the flesh tints, it is full of color and richness and depth of tone. The arrangement of the whole thing is so spontaneous that it strikes one as a lucky piece of nature the painter has come across and realized with a magic brush. The woman's expression is quite wonderfully living; her impatient, rather querulous attitude of handing the letter suggests to the modern mind an oft-presented bill. The shipbuilder's hand resting on his paper is so real one thinks almost he could grasp the warm soft fingers. In this work, as in his mother's portrait, the painting is very smooth and simple throughout, without that appearance of dashing brush work which characterizes later productions. It is as if the master wished to produce an illusion of reality, and to make us forget the vehicle; and the reality is indeed before us, besides so much more which only the best art can give.

Another portrait contributed by the Queen is that of a lady who has, if we mistake not, been once before on these walls some fourteen years ago. In this picture we see that Rembrandt could paint a handsome woman with as much skill as an old one. The lady holds a golden delicately worked fan in her right hand, and with the left she grasps the frame of an open window. The flesh glows throughout in a golden haze, as if the figure were standing in a sunset light, and the eyes, very beautifully rendered, look towards us; the cheek's tender modelling and the half-smiling lips give the impression of a day dream. The black dress is laced in front across a white satin dress richly embroidered with gold, and a long collar of delicate lace covers the shoulders and falls in points in front. The lady has three rows of pearls round her neck, and sleeves of lace on her arms; the figure relieves itself on a dark background. Every detail of the embroidery and of the lace is wrought out carefully, but with proper subordination to the face. The brush work is very masterly, and freer than in the examples described above. The name of the original of this beautiful portrait is not known. The work is signed and dated 1641.

Of Rembrandt himself we have two portraits—No. 159, in a dark-blue cap and fur collar, over which hangs a gold chain, which his gloved hand holds. This head is very like many other portraits he did of himself, and not as highly finished or as interesting as that in the National Gallery; but a very brilliant example of his latest manner is the larger than life figure of the painter in his old age, dressed in a Jewish gabardine and broad-brimmed black hat, holding a stick in his hand. This painting, No. 157, seems to be the fullest expression of masterly and facile execution, a very feast of color and of dexterous touches. He has revelled in reproducing the bright costume, evidently a studio property, and his own misshapen and rather bloated features in all their ugliness and unshapeliness. 1653 is the date affixed, eleven years before the painter's death, and one cannot help being fascinated by the complete mastery and originality of the painting of this work, although the earlier period seems, after all, the more desirable, and what will remain to show future generations how great the work of Rembrandt is in its broad simplicity.

Of Rubens, we have the portrait of Thomas Howard, Earl of Arundel and Surrey, known as the first collector of works of art in England. He is turning towards us, clad in armor, a blue sash across his shoulder, and a gold chain of some order round his neck. The head is a very handsome one, and is finely painted, as also the armor; but the arrangement of helmet and plume behind him, and

the architectural background is mechanical, and does not suit the head. "The Marriage of Mars and Venus," a large composition of landscape and figures, is interesting to painters because unfinished, and shows Rubens's method of painting on a gray ground.

The Romney portrait of Henrietta, Countess of Warwick, and her children is extremely fine, one of the most completely satisfactory groups of this painter of graceful ladies. The Countess, a very beautiful person, with a curly erection of soft auburn hair falling in ringlets on her shoulders, is dressed in white satin, which is painted with a great deal more care and finish than usual with Romney. She is sitting in a crimson chair; her right arm is round the waist of her little daughter, who looks in her face. The boy stands a little way from her, hoop in hand, looking out of the picture. They are surrounded by landscape and architectural background to suit, according to the eighteenth-century tradition for family groups. Besides the inevitable Lady Hamilton, who, in the picture lent by A. de Rothschild, is not so bewitching as in other examples, we have by Romney a very fine portrait of the actress Miss Mellon, also a lovely face, with a character of its own. She is seated facing us almost full face, and wears a white dress open in front, showing neck and arms, round which a fur boa is twisted, which very effectively brings a dark note of color into the picture. The head is relieved against a pale gray-blue sky and distant landscape. The painting is very masterly—the graceful pose and light color of the whole are so appropriate. Another interesting head by the same master is of Mrs. Trimmer, the authoress of several educational works.

The most exceptional display of works of the rare master Antony Watteau is one of the principal features of this exhibition. They are exhibited in Gallery No. 2, and for the most part belong to Sir Richard Wallace and Mr. Alfred Rothschild. "Le rendez-vous de Chasse" and "The Garden Party" are the principal pictures in size, both 50x75 inches, and very fine examples. We have in the latter a wooded park with graceful groups of figures among the trees. In the foreground, a lady offers flowers to her companions seated on the grass; children are playing with a dog, and there are dancers with music beyond. In the landscape there is a delightful atmosphere and space, a suggestion of enjoyment of the present in the daintily dressed ladies, in bright satin sacques of tender hue, and their attendant chevaliers. Everything tells of ease and luxury and refinement. The eighteenth-century pastoral grace, which is as far removed from robust nature in Watteau's painting as in Metastasio's and Guarini's verses, has its own peculiar charm, and we have before us its happiest expression in these paintings, so exquisite in color and easy in execution. We are told that Watteau painted much in the Luxembourg Gardens, and studied Rubens to educate his eye for color. However this may be, his own intuitions never erred in this respect, and the smaller canvases, "Sérénade Italienne," "Masquerade," "Harlequin and Columbine," are all gems of pure bright color.

Examples, and very fine ones, of Claude, Greuze, Lancret, are also here, besides Van der Neer, Van der Velde, Van Ostade, and other Dutch masters. No room has been devoted this year to the early Italians, but, although they generally attract most attention, the rooms are so full of interesting works one cannot complain of their exclusion for once. For students of realistic landscape painting nothing can be more useful than a careful contempla-

tion of J. Constable's "View on the Stour near Dedham," a very characteristic river landscape, full of movement and local color. One feels the damp marshy land, the watery sky, the winding river with its bridge, its barges being towed along, its cottages and people, are all essentially English. The painting is vigorous, splendid in execution and finish, yet so broad, although full of detail. Constable was evidently the first of the Impressionists.

The Water Color Room has been devoted entirely to Turner's drawings. Besides the well-known large water-colors of Florence, Heidelberg, Stirling Castle, "Falls of the Clyde," etc., we have the entire collection of Mr. Fawkes, now for the first time framed and exposed to the light. These fifty-one sketches were done during a fortnight on the Rhine in 1819. Turner was absent from England for three weeks only, and on his return went straight from Rotterdam via Hull to the house of his friend, Mr. Fawkes, at Farnley Hall;

"and it is well remembered," says the catalogue, "by those still living that, on his arrival, he took from his coat pocket a roll of paper tied with a string, which, on being unfolded, displayed to the astonishment of all present these studies. They were made on paper originally white, but which Turner stained gray by passing it through a dish filled with the tint he required. This enabled him to wash and scrape out lights, and aided the marvellous power and rapidity with which he always worked. Body color is also freely used, as was his custom when working on tinted paper. Mr. Fawkes purchased the drawings, and they have been always kept in a special case; but the present owner, Mr. Ayscough Fawkes, has kindly allowed them to be temporarily framed and exhibited together."

Two rooms are devoted entirely to the portraits and subject pictures of the late Frank Holl, R.A., whose sudden death this summer, at the most successful moment of his career, caused so much regret among his brother Academicians, who hold him in very high repute as a painter, and felt especially proud of him as a man who developed his talent in England and at the Academy school. His sitters were from among the most distinguished personages of our time, and most of these portraits now before us have been in prominent positions on the line in Royal Academy exhibitions of recent years. The most admired are Earl Spencer, the Duke of Cleveland, Sir G. O. Trevelyan, the Rev. E. H. Cradock, Principal of Brasenose, Oxford, in doctor's gown, the Prince of Wales in black gown with insignia of the Garter, William Agnew, the great picture dealer, Lord Wolseley, John Bright, M.P., and many others. A careful survey of this collection fills one with wonder at the great reputation Frank Holl enjoys, and also convinces us that the impression made by seeing so much of his work together is not advantageous. One reason would be that the portraits are those of men: there is only one woman's portrait among them, and the treatment of men of ripe age in nineteenth-century garments could not be very inspiring. Holl has not even attempted to compose a background for most of them, and the heads, in rather forced effect of strong light and shade, are mostly relieved by a very dark brown background.

The qualities which are admirable are the excellent firm drawing, the simplicity of pose, always natural, the good modelling, and in most cases the likeness. Of artistic treatment and effect, and agreeable workmanship, there is none. Frank Holl was evidently not a poetic nature, and had very little taste; and although comparisons are always odious, we cannot help recalling that Rembrandt, who painted plain old ladies in the black and white costumes they wore in his time, and ill-favored men often,

and was very much given to brown backgrounds, produced effects which delight us, and which remain for all time enviable works of art. We very much doubt whether, two centuries hence, any one will desire to purchase as an object he wishes to gaze on for mere pleasure, not knowing the name of the original, any one of the portraits of Holl. Sir John Millais says, in some article recently published, that the old masters owe much of their glamour to age, and that the moderns will thus have a chance later on. It is true that the white paint acquires through time and varnish a delightful creaminess; but beyond this a picture which is inharmonious in color cannot become good by being darkened in tone.

The subject pictures of Frank Holl are especially native of the soil. No other city but London could have suggested their melancholy notes, or offered such types of misery and squalor. Take, for instance, "Want: the Pawnbroker's Shop," "Ordered to the Front," in which a group of soldiers in highland uniform are taking leave of their wives and children at a railway station; "The First-Born," in which the parents, an old man and boy, are following a child's funeral in a village churchyard; "Newgate: Committed for Trial," "Leaving Home," besides very many funerals in different churchyards, of young and old. Even Holl's friends and greatest admirers admit that he seemed to wish to illustrate every phrase of the funeral service. Notwithstanding their lugubrious subjects and a rather heavy treatment, accompanied by color always gray and unpleasant, these pictures were eagerly purchased at the time they were painted; it is evident they appealed strongly to the public taste. Sir Frederick Leighton himself did not scruple to tell us at Liverpool, two months ago, at the Congress there, that the English have no taste in matters of art, and he took some pains to prove it; yet he referred with admiration to the work of Holl, and deplored his loss as one of the most promising artists in the Academy, and of whom all Englishmen should feel proud.

Correspondence.

BENJAMIN VAUGHAN.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In your review of Mr. Hale's recent volume on Franklin, you speak of the conflicting estimates concerning the ability and character of Benjamin Vaughan and his services during the peace negotiations of 1782. You are quite correct in adding that the matter is not very material; but it may be of some passing interest to add a few facts not generally known concerning the part taken by a man so variously estimated.

Benjamin Vaughan, at the time of the peace negotiations, was a young man of about thirty. His father was an Englishman, his mother an American. He was connected by marriage with Laurens, and became a friend of Franklin through their mutual scientific interests. Through these relations with two of the negotiators he became connected, in a lesser way, with certain steps of the peace negotiations throughout the whole time of their transaction. He went to Paris early in July, 1782, to use his good offices, as a friend of Dr. Franklin, in allaying any suspicions concerning the sincerity of Lord Shelburne's desire for a lasting peace on liberal terms. He went at Lord Shelburne's express request, but he went as a friend of both parties, to do what it might chance to fall to him to do in smoothing the way for

peace, rather than as a regular agent of Lord Shelburne. He was offered an official position by Lord Shelburne, but declined it, partly in order, as he stated, that he might be more free to act as it seemed to him would most promote peace. He was at no time "in the pay" of the British Government, as stated by Mr. Bancroft, having refused to receive any pay, or even the reimbursement of the expenses of his various long visits to Paris. Nor was he in any proper sense the "agent" of Mr. Jay. The correspondence indicates that Vaughan would have gone to London in any event, even had he not been requested by Jay to do so, for on September 9th, writing to Lord Shelburne of Rayneval's proposed visit to England, he begged him to "take no sort of measures till one of us comes over"—by this meaning apparently either Oswald or himself. As to the interview with Lord Shelburne to which Mr. Hale attaches so little, and Mr. Jay so much, importance, it was in the line of the long letter of September 11th, written by Vaughan to Lord Shelburne just before leaving for London, and sent in advance by one of the couriers. What Vaughan was able to do at this interview was probably only in confirmation of what he had written, that "under this commission I see they will not act," and "America must have a character"; and "if this moment is rudely managed, or slightly passed over, I conceive peace in consequence takes its flight, and that America will be hurried back into war at a moment when they have so ripened things that three hours would make you friends again."

Though sometimes displeased with his course, Shelburne requested him on at least four different occasions during the negotiations to go to Paris to attempt to facilitate the negotiations; and since Franklin stated to Vaughan "more than once," at the time of executing the preliminary articles, that "but for his letters and conversations" on the subject of the refugees, he "should not have given his assent to the refugee part of the treaty," his services may have been of some value. His position as a friend of both parties was unquestionably a difficult one; but that he filled it properly is best shown by the fact that his private correspondence shows him to have retained till old age the personal friendship of both Jay and Franklin as well as of Lord Shelburne, the actors on both sides most familiar with his course.

G. H.

PEWS AND CLERGY IN GERMANY

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Mr. Anderson, in writing on newspaper inaccuracy, opens a theme that would never be closed from lack of material. In an editorial of the *New York Times* for February 15, on the difficulty that strangers find in getting seats in St. Thomas's, it is asserted that "in countries where there is an established church the rights of pewholders do not arise." Prussia has an established church; yet when in Hanover last winter, I several times accompanied my landlady to her church, and always found, as in St. Thomas's, the aisles filled by a standing throng, and the rights of the pewholders guarded more ruthlessly than in the American church, for the pew doors were locked, and each seatholder brought his *more usually her* key, and on passing into the pew closed the door after him. With German thrift, only one or two sittings are taken by a family, so each pew back had a line of china labels bearing the names of its several occupants, and the various holders scrupulously placed themselves in the foot or two of space allotted each. A portion of the church was also set aside for the families of the

bureaucracy of the parish. My landlady seemed to regard the ownership of a seat as a luxury, and was quite content to take her chance when, at a late hour, the doors were unlocked for such as could find places on the unoccupied benches, but as the preacher was a popular one, the large majority of the non-pewholders were obliged to stand through the entire service.

Pewholders also exist in the Church of England. An English lady lamented to me the difficulty of getting a sitting in Canon Duckworth's church, London, for which she paid, I believe, a guinea and a half. And we remember, in that dreary-pathetic sketch of a few years ago, "Miss Tossay's Mission," how the gentle old maid resolved to save another guinea for her heathen by giving up the sitting she had so many years occupied in church, and placing herself among the poor on the floor benches.

I never entered a German church without being struck by the middle-class air of prowder and people. The ministry, albeit an established one, by no means holds the social position which it does in England. A Frau Professor expressed great surprise to me that a son of the Marquis of Salisbury should be in holy orders—"it was very noble in the *Adel* to be willing thus to work—but," she added after a pause of reflection, "in England the Church offers a career." A member of the class who bear now before their names, corresponding, one may say, to the gentry of England, rarely, if ever, enters the Protestant ministry of Prussia, and no pastor ever was for himself that prostrate. The livings are, from a German middle-class point of view, reasonably well endowed, and, like all German official positions, accompanied by a pension, and in some cases by a dower-house; yet a few years ago there was such a scarcity of young ministers that the Government was obliged to increase the emoluments, and even yet, I believe, this profession offers the quickest road to a competence.

I was told that the pay of an officer, until he reaches the rank of captain, is insufficient for his support without parental subsidies; yet, as a young fellow said, it is only in the army that laurels are won, so the aspiring youth press into its ranks, when social prestige enables them to win the dowager maidens whom alone they wish, or, indeed, under army regulations, can wish. This social prestige of the military is "worth for all it is worth" in Prussia. I noticed how completely the offices of the burgher-class form its life; between them and the professions or bureaucracy is the same difference as in pre-Revolutionary France existed between *clercs* and *bourgeois*. I. C. N.

1888.

GERMAN PROGRAMMES

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Aside from the question of cataloguing these productions, I am not inclined to dismiss them as of little value. Doubtless many of them were perfunctory performances, but, on the other hand, many are still of the highest value. Nothing is more common in editions of classic authors than references to "an instructive programme of A," or "the valuable contribution of B." There are numerous references to them in Hubner's guides to Bibliography; one—Bernhard's "De Cicerone Graecie philosophie interprete," published originally in Berlin in 1815—has, I think, been reprinted. The very fact that they are still published voluntarily would seem to show that they fill a want. On the commercial side, a Leipzig bookhouse publishes annually a special catalogue of them,

It would be an interesting problem to discover what influence the publishing of these programmes has had in stimulating and developing German scholarship. I have long thought that something of the kind might be introduced with profit in our American institutions of learning. Our young scholars, who are teachers also, are certainly not doing the original work, in philology at least, that ought to be done; yet it is very possible that such work has been done which has not seen the light, nor will see it in the present condition of things. The programme system supplies a stimulus and a means of publication—surely no mean advantages, whatever weakness the custom may have.

W. A. MERRILL

MIAMI UNIVERSITY, February 18, 1889.

SUUM CUIQUE.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I have lately been reading with considerable interest some 'Essays on the English Poets,' by James Russell Lowell, which are published in 'The Camelot Series' by Walter Scott, London. At page 235, in the essay on Wordsworth, Mr. Lowell writes: "Many of Wordsworth's later poems seem like rather unsuccessful efforts to resemble his former self. They would never, as Sir John Harrington says of poetry, 'keep a child from play, and an old man from the chimney-corner.'" A note adds, "In the preface to his translation of the 'Orlando Furioso.'"

Sir John Harrington was born in 1561 and died in 1612. The dates of Sir Philip Sidney's birth and death are November 29, 1554, and October 17, 1586. The "Orlando Furioso: Translated into Heroicall English Verse" was published in 1591, and Sir Philip Sidney's "Apologie for Poetrie" in 1595, nine years after his death. But, according to Hallam, it was probably written about 1581; and Edward Arber, in his reprint in 1868 of the *editio princeps*, says: "The date usually given for the composition of the 'Apologie for Poetrie,' viz., 1581, may be taken as approximately correct." At page 40 of the reprint, in Sidney's description of "our Poet the Monarch," we read: "Hee commeth to you with words sent in delightfull proportion, either accompanied with, or prepared for the inchaunting skill of Musicke; and with a tale forsooth he commeth unto you; with a tale which holdeth children from play, and old men from the chimney corner."

From the dates given above, I think it most probable that Sir John borrowed from Sir Philip the words quoted by Mr. Lowell, which he must have seen in Sidney's manuscript, unless, indeed, they happened to be a saying in common use at the time. Of this I am not aware that we have at present any proof.

Permit me to add to this note an instance in which Mr. Lowell's memory has undoubtedly played him false. In the first note to No. 4 of the first series of the 'Biglow Papers,' Mr. Lowell writes: "We might well exclaim with Austin (if a saint's name may stand sponsor for a curse), *Pereant qui ante nos nostra dixerint.*" Here the subjunctive *dixerint* is unnecessarily substituted for the indicative *dixerunt* of the original saying, and the words, moreover, are incorrectly ascribed to a saint. Mr. Lowell is so well read that he must surely have met with a charming book, which is now lying before me, viz., 'An Essay on the Genius and Writings of Pope,' by Joseph Warton, D.D. (5th edit., London, 1806). At page 88 of vol. i, Warton says: "St. Jerome relates that his preceptor, Donatus, explaining that sensible passage in Terence, 'Nihil est dictum quod

non sit dictum prius,' railed severely at the ancients for taking from him his best thoughts—'Pereant, qui ante nos nostra dixerint.' In a note on this passage Warton refers to 'Ante-Baile, tom. ii, p. 207.' The original anecdote may be found in Jerome's 'Exposition of Ecclesiastes,' 1, 9, and is as follows: "Comicus ait: Nihil est dictum, quod non dictum sit prius. Unde preceptor meus, Donatus, cum ipsum versiculum exponeret; Pereant, inquit, qui ante nos nostra dixerint."

It may be further noticed that the saint has not quoted quite accurately the line of the comic poet. The actual words of Terence (Eun. Prolog. 41) are: "Nullum est jam dictum quod non sit dictum prius." Jerome's preceptor was, of course, *Elius* Donatus, the grammarian and commentator on Virgil and Terence, who "flourished" in the fourth century.

I remain, sir, yours faithfully,
GEO. MURRAY.

65 AYLMER STREET, MONTREAL, February 17, 1889.

LANCIANI'S ANCIENT ROME.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In his note on the book of Prof. Lanciani, Prof. Platner, referring to a slip in the author's translation of Pliny, says: "The charge has sometimes been brought against archaeologists that their classical scholarship is deficient;" and he is no doubt quite correct. There is also no doubt that the charge is sometimes well founded not only against archaeologists, but against others who follow classical studies. We have heard of historians who blundered as badly as an archaeologist, and with less excuse, if excuse can be. But for a working archaeologist there does seem to me to be a better apology than for some others, as his attention is necessarily largely given to the practical investigations which furnish his peculiar material; and to men who are for the greater part of their time absorbed in the study of *things, books* fade into the distance. When a man is, for any reason, obliged to forego the just relation between classical study and actual archaeological work, he sacrifices the one or the other; and when, like Lanciani, he is incessantly occupied with the work of a large province of great interest, he may be pardoned if sometimes Pliny and Herodotus become somewhat vague memories, and the version of them which remains in the worker's mind is somewhat distorted, and such as the scholar who has always his book in hand may justly characterize as due to "carelessness or ignorance of the Latin language," though it is really a distortion by memory of a passage well known or read long ago.

Prof. Haynes's criticism is, I believe, absolutely correct and merited, as no doubt Lanciani himself will admit on consideration. He has been so long devoted closely to the limited but extremely important field of Roman investigation, that he has not collated the finds in that district with those lately made in other provinces of Italy—fields intrusted to other workers. To cover the whole ground of the present Italian researches would be impossible without sacrificing something of the thoroughness of his work in his own field of Roman research; but he certainly should have known that in certain tombs of an earlier date than those he treats of there have been found objects of iron. I am inclined to think that it was carelessness rather than another cause that led him to the statement in fault, for he must have known that in the earliest tombs thus far discovered at Tarquinia there are iron implements, and that these tombs cannot be, according to Helbig (whose authority no one will

deny), later than 900 B.C., while the date is by some Italian archaeologists put still further back, and the foundation of Rome is not, even according to Lanciani, so remote. So far as I know, we have no necropolis in Italy in which iron is not found, though there have recently been found some, very extensive, in the western part of Sicily, in which no metal whatever occurs. But we must, I imagine, go much further back than the archaic Italian tombs to get beyond the use of iron, for the earliest Italic myths (which are only tradition crystallized) furnish Vulcan with a forge and make him hammer out the thunderbolts; and this can only relate to the use of iron, as bronze is not worked on the anvil, but hammered cold or cast.

Prof. Haynes's reference to the stone axe used in the sacrifice may be reinforced by the modern custom of the eastern Jews, of using a splinter of flint for circumcision; and I may add, as another illustration, that in certain parts of Sicily the husbandman has a superstition about the use of an iron ploughshare. The lack of iron in the Albano-Roman tombs, when it is found in the contemporary graves elsewhere in Italy, does, however, seem to me a strong confirmation of the Alban origin of Rome, though it does not help Lanciani otherwise.—Yours truly, W. J. STILLMAN.

GURGENTI, SICILY, February 9, 1889.

Notes.

LONGMANS, GREEN & CO. are about to publish in New York and London a volume of poems by T. W. Higginson, entitled 'The Afternoon Landscape,' and dedicated to Mr. Lowell. It includes a number of translations, from Sappho's Ode to Aphrodite and from the sonnets of Petrarch and Camoens. The same firm announce further an autobiographic tale of Monmouth's rebellion, 'Micah Clarke: his Statement.'

'Janus,' a musical novel, by Edward Irenaeus Stevenson, is in the press of Belford, Clarke & Co.

'Shall We Teach Geology?' by Prof. Alexander Winchell, to be published by S. C. Griggs & Co., Chicago, is a contribution to the perennial discussion over the claims of science and the humanities respectively to precedence in a practical education.

In the current issue of Mr. J. H. Hickcox's Monthly Catalogue of U. S. Publications, we read that the Printing Committee of the House has reported in favor of the Government's publishing a posthumous work by Gen. Emory Upton, viz., a complete analysis of the military records of the United States from the beginning of the Revolution to 1862, with a chapter on the military policy of the Confederate States.

We welcome the new volume of the 'Co-operative Index to Periodicals,' for 1888 (New York, 330 Pearl St.). It is longer by six pages than the corresponding Index for 1887. Not only have we here a clue to what is best in English and American periodical literature, but, as we have before remarked, the notable books and the notable personages of the year, even the chief art exhibitions—in short, what the cultivated world is talking about—is here reflected in reviews and obituaries. Moreover, we get a conspectus of the picked writers of the day, whose names are appended (when known) to their several articles, and are gathered up into an author-index filling thirty-four pages.

We observe with pleasure that Prof. Melvin M. Bigelow's 'Elements of the Law of Torts'

has reached the honor of an English edition. It appears, in a very attractive form, from the University Press at the English Cambridge, where it has for some time been a text-book.

To the valuable collections of cases prepared for the use of students of law at Harvard University there are now added two volumes of 'Select Cases and Other Authorities on the Law of Property,' by Prof. Gray, and two volumes of 'Cases on the Law of Quasi-Contracts,' by Prof. Keener. Teachers and students of law will wish to know of these careful compilations. Both are published by Charles W. Sever, Cambridge.

As an excellent companion to Reinach's 'Manuel de Philologie,' we call the attention of classical scholars to the following work, 'La Lingua Greca Antica: Breve Trattazione comparativa e storica, di Domenico Pezzi' (Turin: Ermanno Loescher, 1888). In eighty pages of preliminary matter the progress of Greek studies, in grammar and lexicography especially, is traced from the Alexandrian period down to the present decade. The rest of the work is divided into two parts (pp. 81-308, 309-474). Part 1, "Il panellenismo glottico," is devoted (a) to phonology, concluding with a section on accent, in which the opposing views of Drs. Bloomfield and Wheeler are considered, and (b) to the significant elements of Greek words, under which are treated the inflexions and their significations. Part 2 treats of the Greek dialects, giving for every dialect the most important documents, with appropriate bibliographical remarks, and then the more prominent characteristics of each, with examples. As is the case with Reinach's work, fully half of this book consists of foot-notes, presenting an excellent bibliography of the various subjects treated, making it a most valuable work of reference. We miss, however, the capital index that crowns the French scholar's Manual, though a full table of contents enables the seeker to find the various subjects that are discussed.

Another pictorial Cæsar, or fragment of Cæsar—his seventh campaign in Gaul, B. C. 52 (De Bello Gallico, Lib. vii.)—edited for school use by W. Cookworthy Compton and published in London by Geo. Bell & Sons, merits the attention of teachers. Mr. Compton has made the tour of the principal places of the narrative, accompanied by an artist who contributes slight but sufficient topographical sketches. Numerous maps are borrowed from Kampen, and these, with the pictures of scenery, modes of warfare, etc., are well calculated to interest the student and to aid him in his understanding of the text. There is also a list of constantly recurring idioms, which the editor judiciously recommends committing to heart.

The sixth volume of the *Forum* shows the usual variety of topics discussed or questions asked—the interrogative heading being, not inappropriately, a favorite. Labor receives a good proportion of attention, and rather more than any other subject or interest. The South, railroads, the tariff, education, annexation of Canada, the Chinese, are other prominent subjects. Mr. Edward Atkinson has oftenest had the floor. Other well-known names are Vandyck, Goldwin Smith, Andrew Lang, James Parton, G. W. Cable, Max O'Rell, Andrew D. White, Jules Verne, etc.; and it was in this volume of the *Forum* that Mr. Edmund Gosse raised the question whether America had ever begotten a poet.

The bound *Critic* for 1888 makes two volumes, in whose contents we discern nothing unusual for comment. The "Authors at Home" series reaches No. 28 with Mr. R. H. Stoddard.

The 'Universal Atlas, Geographical, Astronomical, and Historical,' published at 19 Park Place by Geo. F. Cram, is a poor production, cartographically considered, and at most can only be recommended for rough reference. It contains a good deal of statistical matter, but none that might not more safely be sought elsewhere.

A *Gedenkbuch* has been made up for sale at and for the benefit of the German Hospital Fair in this city. Distinguished German and American authors have combined to furnish autographic sentiments, poems, etc., and a certain number of sketches by well-known artists has been interspersed with the facsimiles. Carl Schurz's address at the opening of the Fair introduces this souvenir.

The Georgia Historical Society celebrated at Savannah on February 12 its fiftieth anniversary, with good spirit and much satisfaction over what has been gained in reanimation and endowment since the war. It represents a force much needed not only at the South but in every part of the Union. Of very few even of the best of those now existing can it be said that they subserve any other purpose than that of a museum of books and reliques. They hardly enter into the life of the community or of the age.

Georgia's leading living historian, Col. Charles C. Jones, was unable to share in the Historical Society's festivity. A portrait of him, with a biographical sketch and extracts from his numerous works, is given in *Literature* for February 9.

We have received the sixth biennial report of the Kansas Historical Society, a very vigorous institution, which counts more than 48,000 volumes, bound and unbound. Of these one-sixth are newspaper and periodical files. At most the entire press of Kansas makes a direct contribution of its regular issues to the Society.

A reprint has been made from the *Magazine of Western History* of Mr. W. H. Venable's "Early Periodical Literature of the Ohio Valley." It begins with the *Western Review*, published at Lexington, Ky., in 1810-21. In the section on *Hall's Western Monthly Magazine* the writer falls into the error of saying that Lyman Beecher "had made Lane Seminary a militant post of offensive warfare against Catholicism and slavery." A citizen of Ohio should have been better informed on this point. The late James Freeman Clarke was the second editor of the *Western Messenger*, started in 1835, and was succeeded by the Rev. W. H. Channing, both drawing their literary support freely from the Unitarian denomination at the East. At least ten of the contributors, says Mr. Venable, were also among the writers for Emerson's *Dial*. In 1860 a new *Dial* was founded at Cincinnati by Moneur D. Conway, another Unitarian clergyman, who likewise drew upon his brethren in Boston.

We can recommend for instruction and for readability three Indian brochures on our table. "The Seminole Indians of Florida," by Clay MacTavish, is not as one might suppose who thinks of the Seminole war as having ended in the extermination of the tribe) an historical essay, but a study of the living remnant on the soil of the peninsula. Physically and morally, the account of these people is altogether favorable, if we take no exception to the prevailing polygamy, which, singularly enough, produces more males than females. There is a certain admixture of negro blood. The pamphlet is illustrated. From vol. ii, No. 1 of the *American Anthropologist* Dr. Washington Matthews, U. S. A., reprints an article of his on "Navajo Gambling Songs," of which he translates a number by the side of the origi-

nal, with some explanatory discourse. The first of the Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum at Harvard University is an historical essay, "Standard or Head Dress?" on a featherwork relique of ancient Mexico, by Mrs. Zelia Nuttall, a special assistant of the Museum. Three colored plates accompany this paper, and are needful for the comprehension of it and of the bearing of the discussion on the ancient Mexican picture writings.

There is no end to universal calendars. That well deserves its name which is called "The Ready-Reference Calendar" Union Printing Co., 15 Vandewater St. By confounding itself with a range of two centuries (1753-1900), it makes the determination of a given day very simple and rapid. The finding of Easter Day is a part of the scheme.

On March 1, a new eclectic French monthly, *La Revue Frangaise*, will be published. Its province will be to furnish readers and students of French with the select works of the best French authors, annotated where necessary, and with essays on the study of the French language and literature by competent teachers and writers. The selections will mostly be drawn from contemporary French periodical literature. The publication office is at 39 West Fourteenth Street, New York city.

The American Association for the Advancement of Science meets this year at Toronto, August 27 to September 3. The Local Committee have organized with the Hon. Charles Carmichael as President, with Mr. James Bain, Jr., Treasurer, and Prof. James London, Secretary. It is believed that this will be a large meeting, rivaling the Boston meeting of 1880. The President of the Association is Prof. Menzenhall, and Major Powell gives the address as retiring President.

—Mr. Charles Dudley Warner's article on Canada in the March *Harper's* has an interest beyond that of a mere contribution to a current discussion, and is quite the most thoroughly studied and valuable of the papers of this kind that he has been writing recently. He gives a good physical description of the country, some pages explanatory of its political constitution and recent history, and a good deal of the results of his own observation in a journey to Vancouver and back, over the Canadian Pacific, and in his various social opportunities. It would be a pity if Mr. Warner's reputation for other sorts of writing should put any readers who enjoy well reasoned economical and political discussion off the scent of this article of his. The number affords scope to the engraver in the second paper on Norway, in Theodore Child's account of the Institute of France, and in Curt von Zelau's article on "New Vienna." By the latter is meant, of course, the Ringstrasse and its examples of noble architecture, which cannot be too often reproduced, at once to shame and cultivate our taste as displayed in public buildings. Among the shorter contributions, George William Curtis's sympathetic notice of Motley's "Letters" is easily first in interest. "Poe's Mary" presents to us a young lady of fifty years ago, whose dealings with the poet, as lover and friend, make up an astounding revelation of the manners of the time—though it may not be safe to say that they could not be paralleled to-day.

—A word apart must be given to the article on the "Origin of Celestial Species," in which Mr. Norman Lockyer seeks to account for the evolution of the different forms of the heavenly bodies from a chaos of meteorites. The idea is an old one, but Mr. Lockyer advances it vigorously under the influence of much new light,

and makes out an excellent hypothesis. In a recent English photograph of the nebula in Andromeda, there appears endless detail of form, and two satellites of the central mass are in the actual process of formation, as it were. These, with the numerous concentric rings, must be taken as a striking confirmation of the nebular hypothesis. As the elder Darwin accounted for the origin of terrestrial species, so, in explaining the evolution of celestial species, his son, Professor George Darwin of Trinity College, is playing no unimportant part. Taking the Kantian idea of all space originally filled with nebulous, incandescent gas, and comparing it with the idea of space thickly strewn with meteorites in the beginning, Mr. Darwin has shown that the two may be reconciled by considering the meteorites as the magnified particles of a magnified gas, behaving like the molecules in the kinetic theory of gases, only on a vastly larger scale. And further, from his investigation of the question whether there is anything inconsistent in the assumption of a magnification so great, Professor Darwin concludes that Mr. Lockyer's hypothesis contains nothing at variance with the nebular hypothesis of Laplace. As the spectroscope a quarter-century ago revealed the presence of the same kind of matter throughout all space, so now a still more important generalization seems establishing, that "all celestial forms are due to an exquisitely simple evolution of matter in the form of meteoric dust."

—Mr. Appleton Morgan's book on "The People and the Railways" is little more than a series of essays which have appeared in the *Popular Science Monthly* and other periodicals. The author is a pronounced defender of corporate rights. He believes that legislation on railroads has done much harm and little good. Some of his points are well taken—for instance, when he shows how the growth of trade centres results from natural conditions rather than from arbitrary action of the railroad managers, or when he exposes the fallacy of Mr. Hudson's indictments against the railroad system of the United States. But we fear that the book will do more harm than good to the cause which it is designed to advance. In his anxiety to defend railroads from ill-judged interference, the author often goes to the length of trying to shield them from their fair responsibility. The latter effort stands in the way of the former. Only by accepting full responsibility for what they do, can our railroads claim immunity from the most meddlesome legislation. If the advocates of the railroad system say, as Mr. Morgan virtually does, that our managers cannot prevent accidents, there will be a loud demand for the substitution of State control instead of private control. But, in point of fact, our railroad men do not thus seek to disclaim responsibility. They feel the burden, and accept it as one of the incidents of their position. When Mr. Morgan's article on this subject first appeared, more than a year ago, we showed that he was materially wrong in certain statements of fact. He replies by a slur on official investigations, and implies, though he does not exactly say, that he bases his statements on a report of experts. Unfortunately for him, the facts which we presented were based on the testimony of the company's own officials; and we do not believe that there has been any report of experts which will warrant Mr. Morgan's conclusions.

—We have been glad to observe and to take part in an appeal of American scholars to the incoming Administration in favor of retaining at his post our present Minister to Copenhagen,

Prof. R. B. Anderson. Mr. Anderson has ideal qualifications for the place, in his Scandinavian lineage and American birth, and a scholarly cultivation and achievement which do honor to his native land. The hardship of his recall, supposing it to be contemplated or possible, lies in the fact that he is engaged in literary labors of recognized importance, and partly international in their nature, which can only be conducted on the spot where he is. They have not interfered with, but rather facilitated, the discharge of his functions at the court of Denmark, where he is *persona grata*. An open letter from citizens of Scandinavia to the President-elect of the United States lies before us, recounting the above facts, and affirming that "We would look upon it as a serious loss to the Scandinavians on both sides of the Atlantic if a new man, unacquainted with Scandinavian affairs, should succeed a Minister who, by his knowledge of our language, our history, and our customs, has for the past four years been so excellent a connecting link between the United States and us." This appeal is signed by Björnson, Brandes, Ibsen, Fr. Winkel Horn, A. L. Kielland, Jonas Lie, Viktor Rydberg, Niels W. Gade, Johan Svendsen, Carl Bloch, and many other persons eminent in letters, art, journalism, and politics, as, F. S. Bang, Councillor of State and Treasurer of the Royal Danish Society of Northern Antiquaries, Sofus Högsbro, President of the Danish Folketing, and some nine members of Parliament. Mr. Anderson's retention ought to be insured by so imposing a tribute to his worth as a scholar and as a Minister. Certain it is that his removal would be a scandal without the shadow of an excuse.

—Bodley's librarian is regarded, and not without reason, as holding the blue ribbon of the profession; and when the vacancy caused by the death of Mr. Coxe, "the lovable librarian," was filled by the appointment of E. B. Nicholson, there were misgivings on the part of some, for not all felt the same confidence in the wisdom of the choice as did the late Henry Bradshaw, the Cambridge librarian, who wrote that he was happy "in the conviction that they have found a man who, while there is no fear of his working slavishly in a groove, will, on the other hand, not despise the traditions of a place where *good traditions* are of such vital importance, if that aroma is to be preserved which gives the charm to the Bodleian and places it at the head of all the libraries in Europe." Six years have passed since these words were written, and a report on the Bodleian Library covering these six years has just been issued, which will be read with interest by many in this country (Oxford: Clarendon Press; New York: Macmillan). The report is a very full and systematic one, going into much detail concerning the progress of the library in all departments, and leaving upon the reader the general impression that a great amount of energy has been shown, much work has been done, and many changes have been made. Changes no doubt were inevitable, if not always desirable, and, judging from the report, Mr. Bradshaw's conviction has, on the whole, been justified by the event. It is unnecessary to follow out all the details, but a few salient points may be worth noting.

—Owing to the extreme parsimony with which the Bodleian had long been treated by the University, Mr. Coxe had been greatly hampered in all his labors, and the working force at his disposal being altogether inadequate to perform even the necessary work of the library, it was inevitable that arrears of cataloguing, classification, and binding should go on accumulating

for lack of funds. It so happened, however, that at the beginning of 1882, in consequence of certain provisions made by the Universities Commission, a new and brighter era in the financial prospects of the library had just opened, and Mr. Nicholson was not slow to take advantage of the opportunity thus offered. The staff was largely increased, the arrears of cataloguing were attacked, and the work of classifying the slips for the subject-catalogue, begun in 1878, was so vigorously pushed forward that it is now estimated that the whole mass of slips, about 700,000 in number, will be ready for final revision by the librarian in 1892. During this period much, too, has been done in the direction of a more minute classification on the shelves, the old subject divisions having been multiplied some sixty-fold, and the report gives a brief explanation of the system of numbering adopted. The bulk of the acquisitions in the department of printed books is received under the copyright act, but large purchases have been made in the class of incunabula, and a much-needed catalogue of the fifteenth-century books in the library is in an advanced state of preparation. As an actual count of the books was made in 1885, the estimate that the number of volumes in the library at the end of 1887 exceeded 470,000, over 28,000 of these being manuscripts, is probably more nearly correct than such estimates generally are. Since 1883 the library has received a yearly grant of \$2,000 for the purchase of manuscripts, and in this period the number of Armenian manuscripts in the library has been more than doubled, the Schlagintweit collection of Tibetan manuscripts was secured, and almost five hundred additions were made to the already rich collection of Sanskrit manuscripts. Much progress has also been made in the preparation of catalogues of the various manuscript collections. Nor has the comfort of readers been neglected; additional facilities have been provided, both in the Bodleian and in the Radcliffe, where a classified students' library of about 8,000 volumes has been arranged in open cases. There has been, as might be expected, a large increase in the attendance of readers. In some directions, however, it has been found necessary to introduce slight restrictions on the facilities formerly conceded to readers. The question of lending books from the Bodleian gave rise to much discussion in 1886, and the University has practically resolved on returning to what was the law on this subject before 1856, by requiring the assent of Convocation for every loan. Full details are given of the financial condition which, owing to the inability of All Souls' College to keep up the contribution called for by the Universities Commission, is by no means so bright as it was in 1882. In conclusion, it may be noted that in some portions the report reads like a defence against criticisms; but criticisms of his management no librarian can hope to escape, for, as Panizzi put it, one of the difficulties a librarian experiences, and perhaps the greatest, is that everybody thinks he knows how to manage a library of printed books, and everybody tries to interfere. No doubt, too, Mr. Prothero's remark concerning certain criticisms of Bradshaw's management, "An occasion for grumbling is a luxury of which few persons refuse to avail themselves, and university society is no more exempt than other societies from a tendency to exaggeration," is as applicable to Oxford as it was to Cambridge. At any rate, if the report is to be taken as a defence of Mr. Nicholson's management, it is certainly a complete one.

—It has been customary to say that the lack

of the principle of representation was the chief point of difference between the political system of the ancients and that of the moderns, and to wonder that so natural and apparently easy a step was not taken, when once the Romans had developed their municipal institutions. The wonder becomes greater when we learn that this step was actually taken in the provinces, but remained barren of political results. It is only very recently, and chiefly as an outcome of the study of inscriptions, that this fact has become known, and the institution in question has been studied. M. Fustel de Coulanges has some interesting chapters upon the subject in the first volume of his 'Institutions', and M. Paul Guiraud has devoted to it an exhaustive monograph of 300 pages (Paris, 1887), entitled 'Les Assemblées Provinciales dans l'Empire Romain.' In these provincial assemblies we have real representative institutions, so far as the form and constitution were concerned, for the members were elected for this special purpose by the municipalities, and had their own officers and their own budget; but they stopped short of being representative bodies in the full sense of the term, because they were not in possession of any substantial powers; they were not a part of the Government, but only subsidiary agents of the Government, their functions being primarily religious, associated with the cult of the Emperor. As M. Guiraud says (p. 270): "The provincial assemblies possessed no authority of their own; they existed only by the will of the prince; they sat not by virtue of any power, but as a matter of duty; what was wanted of them was not to limit the action of the Government, but to assist it." It could not be otherwise under the autocratic rule of the Empire. If this system had been adopted in Italy under the Republic, a true representative government might have been the result; as it is, it is interesting to see how very near the ancients came to discovering the great distinctive principle of modern free government.

THOMAS POOLE.

Thomas Poole and His Friends. By Thos. Henry Sandford. 2 vols. London: Macmillan & Co. 1888.

WHOEVER has read much in the literary memoirs of the Lake School must have felt a lively curiosity to know more of the subject of this biography. Coleridge drew his portrait in a fine passage of 'Church and State,' as a type of strong, practical character. De Quincey described him in the 'Autobiographical Sketches' — "a stout, plain-looking farmer leading a bachelor life in a rustic, old-fashioned house," with a good library, especially in political philosophy, having some experience of travel, and "so entirely dedicated to the service of his humble fellow-countrymen, the hewers of wood and drawers of water in this southern part of Somersetshire, that for many miles round he was the general arbiter of their disputes, the guide and counsellor of their difficulties." Wordsworth, in a letter to him asking his critical opinion of "Michael," says: "In writing it, I had your character often before my eyes, and sometimes thought I was delineating such a man as you yourself would have been under the same circumstances." Poole was, besides, the valued friend of Rickman, the statistician and compiler of the first British census; of Thomas Wedgwood, whose career, beginning with the experiments in photography which are well known, was so unfortunately ended by incurable disease; of Sir Humphrey Davy, and of others of the most

useful men of the time. Both personally and in his relations with those men who felt the revivifying influence of the French Revolution in England, he presents an interesting figure, and his memoir not only helps to complete our knowledge of Coleridge particularly, but exemplifies in a notable way the characteristics of his age of reform.

Poole is the more attractive because of the humbleness of the means by which he made his life remarkable. He was the son of a tanner in well-to-do circumstances, at Nether Stowey, in the region of the Quantock hills, and was bred to that business; but he had a thirst for knowledge which was perhaps encouraged in the home of his uncle, a more liberally-minded man than his father, where he found well-educated cousins, one of them going to Oxford. He could not have neglected his business very much, whatever his father may have thought, by his devotion to French and Latin, since he was chosen to be delegate to the Tanners' Trade Convention at London while still a youth, and made a favorable impression and brought away one valuable friendship. It may have been at this time and through the advice of the "great London tanner," Mr. Purkis, that he came under the influence of French opinions, which he imbibed sufficiently to alarm his Toryish cousins as well as the country neighborhood, by shaking the powder out of his hair. He was thought to be a democrat, and the word was at that time and place a thing to shudder at. How it was that he became acquainted with Coleridge, it is impossible to ascertain. There was a tradition that the two had met accidentally in a tavern, when the poet was in the army and Poole had metamorphosed himself into a common workman. It seems to be believed that Poole did carry out this plan of becoming thoroughly versed in the details of the tanning trade and acquainted with the minds and habits of the workmen; but the time of this is uncertain. It is as a possible adventurer in the Pantocratic scheme that we first find him connected with Coleridge. He describes the plan in a letter to an inquiring friend, and as this account is the most detailed of any yet published about this famous project of settlement on the banks of the Susquehannah, we will extract the passage.

"Twelve gentlemen of good education and liberal principles are to embark with twelve ladies in April next. Previous to their leaving this country they are to have as much inter course as possible, in order to ascertain each other's dispositions, and firmly to settle every regulation for the government of their future conduct. Their opinion was that they should fix themselves at — I do not recollect the place, but somewhere in a delightful part of the new back settlements; that each man should labor two or three hours in a day, the produce of which labor would, they imagine, be more than sufficient to support the colony. As Adam Smith observes that there is not above one productive man in twenty, they argue that if each labored the twentieth part of the time, it would produce enough to satisfy their wants. The produce of their industry is to be laid up in common for the use of all, and a good library of books is to be collected, and their leisure hours to be spent in study, liberal discussions, and the education of their children. A system for the education of their children is laid down, for which, if this plan at all suits you, I must refer you to the authors of it. The regulations relating to the females strike them as the most difficult; whether the marriage contract shall be dissolved if agreeable to one or both parties, and many other circumstances, are not yet determined. The employments of the women are to be the care of infant children and other occupations suited to their strength; at the same time the greatest attention is to be paid to the cultivation of their minds. Every one is to enjoy his own religious and political opinions, provided they do not encroach on the rules previously made, which rules, it is unnecessary to add, must in some

measure be regulated by the laws of the State which includes the district in which they settle."

Such was the scheme of colonization worked out by Coleridge and Southey, the latter of whom Poole describes as "more violent in his principles than even Coleridge himself," and he adds: "In Religion, shocking to say in a mere boy as he is, I fear he wavering between Deism and Atheism." The cost to each undertaker was to be £125. But Poole, who was at this time twenty nine years old, accompanied this information with very sound considerations as to the chimerical nature of the project, which is now interesting partly as an example of the French ferment, but mainly as a literary curiosity.

The lifelong friendship of Poole and Coleridge began some months later, in the summer of 1794. The actual day when Coleridge and Southey visited him was long remembered in the neighborhood as that on which the news of the death of Robespierre reached the place. Poole was already a suspected democrat, and had been warned that the Government had an eye on his private correspondence, but he made light of it. The violent expressions of his two companions on this occasion were scandalous. It is reported that, Tom's cousin (the tall, fair-complexioned Oxford don being present, one of them had said that "Robespierre was a ministering angel of mercy, sent to slay thousands that he might save millions"), and Southey in particular laid his head down upon his arms and exclaimed, "I had rather have heard of the death of my own father." But one must not rely on phrases handed down by tradition. It is certain that people were very much shocked, and in particular the fair-complexioned don, with powdered locks and precise attire, who recorded the occurrence, but not the words, in his Latin diary. "Uterque," he writes, "vera ratio Democratica quoad Politiam; et Infulis quid Reuaginem spectat, turpiter forvet. Ego maxime indignor" — and after a few words more he concludes, "sed de talibus satis." The sisters of the Latinist, who was a most admirable man, were similarly indignant at "Cousin Tom" for entertaining such friends, and the situation was not improved when Coleridge, in the beginning of 1797, the friendship with Poole having now strengthened and become most intimate, came to live in Stowey, where he passed what must have been the most agreeable year of his life. It was here that he composed the "Ancient Mariner." To the young lady cousins the poet, "with the brow of an angel and the mouth of a beast," as he describes himself, was only a bigbear, and he received from them scant respect, but perhaps, as the biographer suggests, Mrs. Coleridge and the baby helped to reconcile him with the humbler neighbors. It was different when Wordsworth and his sister, with the young child for which they were caring, took the Alfoxden House near by, also with Poole's aid and counsel. Stories were rife about them at once: "the profound seclusion in which they lived, the incomprehensible nature of their occupations, their strange habit of frequenting out-of-the-way and untrodden spots, the very presence of an unexplained child that was no relation to either of them" — such are the reasons assigned for that cloud of distrust which gathered about the poet and his sister. It was now that the Government spy was sent to watch them, and they were warned to leave at the expiration of their year's lease, by the direction of the lady, Mrs. St. Albyn, who owned the estates. It was to no purpose, apparently, that Poole wrote to her a full explanation of the circumstances, and assured her of Word-

worth's character. Matters reached their pitch, however, when Thelwall came to visit Coleridge, and, tired of a life of persecution, also wished to settle in this favorable locality. This was clearly impossible, and Coleridge wrote to remind him that Poole could not be asked to jeopardize further his reputation in the country side.

The disturbed mind of the neighborhood, in view of the presence among them of a nest of democrats hatching they knew not what, was a passing matter. To Poole himself the companionship of Coleridge and Wordsworth meant an invigoration of his intellectual life which must have been a stimulus of no ordinary force. At the same time his practical sagacity was never once at fault. From the beginning the character of Coleridge declares itself as it is now well known, with all its excitability and impulsiveness, and that half-frantic weakness which marks so much of his correspondence. Some of these new letters would be incredible were it not that, unfortunately, there are too many others like them. Poole, however, discharged well his duty as the friend whom Coleridge always regarded as nearest and most faithful. He was constantly serviceable. It was he who devised the gift which was to be made annually from the proceeds of £5 contributions by Coleridge's friends. Doubtless he had much to do with obtaining the Wedgwood annuity of £150, which at the time seemed to insure a life undisturbed by financial anxieties; and in lesser matters he was not less active. On the other hand, Coleridge explains the nature of the bond which united them very plainly: "I used to feel myself more at home," he says, "in his great windy parlor than in my own cottage. We were well suited to each other—my animal spirits corrected his inclination to melancholy; and there was something, both in his understanding and in his affections, so healthy and manly that my mind freshened in his company, and my ideas and habits of thinking acquired, day after day, more of substance and reality." As time went on, Poole, without lessening his admiration for his friend's abilities, saw more plainly the grave nature of his defects. He followed him with good wishes and high hopes on his German tour, but the winter in Malta and the months after Coleridge's return must have sealed his judgment that nothing of fulfilment of the expectations of Coleridge's genius was now to be looked for. He was never slow to give him advice, and it was always sagacious; but advice was the last thing that Coleridge wanted. Poole did not believe that Coleridge's ills were real. It is perfectly plain that in the years during which Coleridge suffered physically, and was making attempts to regain health by this and that project of travel, Poole regarded him as hypochondriacal, and told him so plainly enough, if not in so many words. This probably occasioned in part the disagreement, the coolness, in fact, which arose between them at one time, and which is the blot on their friendship. Coleridge resented the opinion that his ailment sprang from mental rather than physical causes; and, when an incident occurred to exacerbate this feeling, he broke out in a manner which Poole rightly regarded as "outrageous." Wordsworth had written to Poole, detailing Coleridge's situation, and asking if he could not provide £100, for him to go to the Azores. Poole replied to Coleridge directly, and excused himself, saying he was ready to contribute £20; and he concluded in the old strain: "Coleridge—God, I hope, will preserve you. It seems to me impossible to imagine that you would not be well if you could have a mind freely at ease. Make your-

self that mind. Take from it—its two weak parts—its tendency to restlessness and its tendency to torpor, and it would make you great and happy. It would in a moment see what is right, and it would possess the power, and that steadily, to execute it." Poole was a man with many calls upon his purse, for his benevolence was marked, and at the time his affairs, as Coleridge knew, were in an unfavorable state; Coleridge, too, was then owing him £37. Yet Coleridge so far forgot himself as to remind Poole of the difference in their education, and to impute to him an illiberal spirit arising from his regard for money. "It is impossible that you should feel," he says, "as to pecuniary affairs, as Wordsworth or as I feel—or even as men greatly inferior to you in all other things that make man a noble being. But this I always knew and calculated upon, and have applied to you in my little difficulties when I could have procured the sums with far less pain to myself from persons less dear to me, only that I might not estrange you wholly from the outward and visible realities of my existence, my wants and sufferings"; and he ends with, "Let us for the future abstain from all pecuniary matters." He followed up this letter by others in the same strain, and refused to see anything "outrageous" in these remarks. The friendship survived the strain, much to Poole's credit; but the correspondence grew less constant, and finally ceased, except for a yearly bulletin from Mrs. Coleridge until her death. Poole continued, however, to be serviceable to the family, assisted Hartley through college, and was always ready to fulfil his early promises of help. It is clear enough, it is pleasant to add, that Coleridge felt that Poole had really been his friend of friends, and that Poole on his side retained undiminished, however he might regret Coleridge's fate, his old affection for him.

We have left but scanty space for the record of Poole's own life, which might well be thought better worth detailing than the history of that friendship to which probably he owes his memoir. He was, as the biographer reminds us, a typical example of those Englishmen of his time who desired to make the most of themselves and live useful lives. He was, to begin with, fond of making and adopting improvements in his own business, which he conducted successfully until he retired from it, and at the same time he cultivated a large farm. In public affairs he had shown while still young a special interest in the condition of the working classes. The food riots, occasioned by the war, brought the subject very vividly to his attention, and he was directly engaged in the work of relief. We find him experimenting in ways of making cheap bread and in methods of planting wheat, and in later years deeply interested in the introduction of merino sheep into England. He built the village school, taught in it, and was eager to forward popular education. His cousin, John Poole, the young Oxford don, was the founder of the Enmore public school and a pioneer in the cause both by practical teaching and by means of his pen. Thomas Poole also founded the Female Friendly Society, for the purpose of assisting women in times of distress, and organized the savings-bank. In brief, there was, it is said, no local charitable institution that he did not originate or support. This interest in the condition of the people was the occasion of his friendship with Rickman, and consequently of his only public service. The two, after having met, corresponded on the subject of the Poor-Laws; and, an inquiry being shortly after authorized by Parliament, Rickman persuaded Poole to give some months of his time

to the task of receiving and tabulating the returns. In this way, living in London, he was brought in useful contact with many public men.

His interest in politics, both foreign and domestic, never ceased to be keen; and although his early opinions, which do not seem to have been extreme, were modified with the course of years, he was at heart and in practice a reformer to the end. He was enlisted with Clarkson against the slave trade, and was one of those men who would use no sugar because it was raised by slave labor. Whenever one comes on the public questions of that day in these pages, Poole is found to be not only on the right side, but thoroughly in earnest and laborious in the work. It was natural that he should end his life as the leading and most respected man in his community, the adviser in all local affairs, and the friend and "common peacemaker," as he was called, of his neighborhood. His self-training intellectually, united with a capacity for fellowship, had made him the companion of many notable persons. He spoke French, and during his travels on the Continent in the year of the peace, he had the fortune to meet several of the distinguished men of the time; but such associations had not changed his original nature. He always affected a certain rusticity of manner; his voice was loud and disagreeable, made harsh by the constant use of snuff; there was a rough quality in him. When he was a county magistrate and coming to the end of life, he would proclaim, in what is styled an uncompromising tone, "For my part, I am a plebeian. I am a tanner, you know, I am a *tanner*." Southey speaks of him as "clod-hopping over my feelings"; but in a more amiable moment he also says, "Tom Poole is not content to be your friend; he must be your saviour." It is noticeable, however, that he had also that gift of tenderness which sometimes goes with rough natures. He was an excellent nurse, and was quick to come in all times of domestic trouble and bereavement, and no one was more welcome. In his drawer, after his death, was found among his mementoes a small packet labelled, "The hair of my poor shepherd, who served me faithfully for twenty-three years"; it is a trifling thing, but nothing could be more significant. He never married, and he outlived several of his best friends, especially Coleridge, Davy, and Tom Wedgwood; but his home was a centre of cheerfulness, and he was surrounded in his later years by young people who had experienced his perpetual kindness. He left no great thing behind him to preserve his memory—he was a man of his generation only; but at the end of these volumes the reader finds himself of one mind with those of his friends of whom Coleridge in his character of Poole says, "Not a man among them but would vote for leaving him as he is." It is not often that an humble life, with so much of the substance of virtue in it, gets itself written.

COLONIAL LIFE ON MASSACHUSETTS SHORES.

Colonial Times in Buzzard's Bay. By William Root Bliss. Illustrated. Boston: Houghton, Mifflin & Co. 1888. 12mo, pp. 185.

THIS unpretending little book is rather notably out of the common run of antiquarian productions. Generally our local histories fall into one of two classes. The one is mainly genealogical, with a vast number of details as to early colonial pedigrees, and it is often a storehouse of full and accurate research, not perhaps appealing much to one's love of light entertainment or aesthetic beauty, but referred to

now and then with innocent pride by the subscribers, and really having a good side in the stimulus which it gives both to historical study and to family feeling. The other and less valuable pattern is of the narrative kind, more or less discursive and oratorical in tone, tending to spread into a much gilt quarto with cheap illustrations, and to settle down upon the farmer's centre-table with his 'Pilgrim's Progress' and Tupper's Poems—weighty but seldom opened, unless to quiet the small boy with its prints on the long Sunday afternoons. A dozen years ago a history of Buzzard's Bay would probably have been of one or both of these types; but the spirit of the place has changed. Summer pleasure seekers have invaded and conquered it, and villas gay with the amusements of modern civilization have crept up its beautiful shores, ousting the weather-beaten old farmhouses and the quiet old bucolic life, and this story is one of the results. It is not exactly a history: it is a vividly told description of life in southern Massachusetts that would fit almost any of our old country towns.

Its tale of the simple doings of a New England hamlet in the last century will seem commonplace enough to those unchanging old Yankee farmers, and they will receive it with the tolerant but superior smile which they accord to the vagaries of the city seeker for spinning-wheels and old brass candle-sticks. But for the summer sojourner there is a delightful charm about Mr. Bliss's animated narrative of the olden time which amply accounts for the popularity which is being accorded to it. From their own records we get peeps at the simple ways of our ancestors, and in some respects the story is not quite what we expected. We do not find the bitter religious bigotry, the enthusiasm for education, the heartrending struggles with the savages, the persecution of witches, the Revolutionary patriotism that we thought characteristic of New England. We look again, but they are not there. These shrewd, frugal, hard-working farmers were always ready for a good trade, but they could not get up much sympathy with the hot-bed extravagances of Boston. The settlers did not come into Buzzard's Bay until the religious enthusiasm in which the Massachusetts Bay Colony started had lost its force. They were the sons of trained farmers who had learned the lessons of moderation and industry which the new life so quickly taught. They were

"shrewd in their bargains, honest in their reckonings, industrious in their habits, but bound by a close economy which made them contented with small savings and small gains. The whole family—sons, daughters, and indentured servants—took up their daily work before sunrise, suspended it only for their meals, and ended it only when the candles were put out at early bedtime. The women did the housework, tended the hens, the geese, and the calves, scoured the brass warming-pans and pewter dishes, spun flax and wool yarns, and wove them into cloths from which the clothing and bedding of the family were made by their own hands; and if more was made than was needed at home, it was bartered away. The purpose of all was to get out of the farm every farthing that it would yield, and to squander nothing."

Money there was little or none, after the unfortunate attempt at legal-tender money; but barter on the strictest business principles went on, and we find Goodman Fearing, one of the substantial men of the town, correcting in his accounts "a mistak of 2 quarts of molasses," and charging his hired man with "time loost" by "sickness the fever and ague, 4 fites one weke and three the next." He furnished everything, from "the bordes and nayles for a rofен" for Widow Bates, to "the posts for

your cradel" to Thomas Bates of the younger generation. He traded corn and rye (with a dog thrown in to balance accounts) with the tanner for dressing his hides, and then traded off the hides in the shape of "sken for briches," with some home-made shoes and some "stokens" of his daughters' knitting, for other goods.

It was a pastoral community. The first building was not a church or a school-house, but a pound; and, like their remote Teutonic ancestors, these farmers began with elaborate provisions for the several rights in the common pastures and forests. The grist-mill was quickly secured, but it was many years before either a meeting house or a school house was erected. It was a good deal cheaper to go fifteen miles of a Sunday to the next village than to put up a house of their own; and when at last the square four-gabled log meeting-house had been built, the difficulty of raising the minister's salary entirely obscured any question of doctrine. The people were eminently practical. They turned no one out for heresies as to saving grace, but they would have no teacher who was irregularly married. For a time the children went untaught—except for the little learning picked up from an itinerant mistress, who had her "dyet" and salary (which was about one third the pay of a day-laborer) for her pains.

"In the opinion of the rural population of New England, schools were an unnecessary expense. Oftentimes the formalities of town-meetings, by which it was ordered 'to set up a school this year,' had no other intent than to show an outward compliance with the unpopular school laws of the province. Whenever the people could contrive a way by which the expenses of a school could be saved, there would be no school during that year. And when, on account of this neglect to observe the school laws, the town was presented by the grand jury of the county, it was customary to depute the most influential townsmen to go and answer the presentment by such excuses as could be made."

"The frugal mind of the colonial farmer reckoned the schoolmaster as a day-laborer, and the desire was to hire him at as low a price, and to spread his labors over as large a territory, as possible. Each section of the town had his services during two or three months of the year, when the scholars were taught to read, write, cipher, and nothing more. He was paid sometimes in money and sometimes in merchandise, and his diet was thrown in. There was no standard by which to test his skill as a teacher, but the one generally esteemed the most skilful was he whose price was the lowest, even if he were the chief of block-heads."

"Who tries with ease and unconcern
To teach what ne'er himself could learn?"

In that quiet farming community large fortunes there were none, and pauperism was very rare. Once in a while we come across some odd record of the sale of a pauper to some one who would keep her for a year with "vettuals and close suitable." Here the town votes "to van due the widow Lovell," after buying her a shirt; and once, as late as 1808, there is an item for "extra mending Jane George four dollars." Sometimes the poor were sold in lots, widow, children, and cattle together. Once they tried to put up all the poor in one lump, but it did not work. One economical farmer managed to get a grant for the care of his own father and mother, but this was not regarded as a precedent to be repeated. The sales were quite an event in the quiet town year. They usually took place in "the bar room of the inn, where the landlord, as he served the thirsty guests from his decanters, discussed with them the value of the paupers for whose services they had come to bid," and the doctor's bills were sharply discussed in town-meeting.

There was a good deal of loyal Tory feeling

at the breaking out of the Revolution. The town had felt little of the pressure of the British yoke, its instincts were all conservative, and as a town it did almost nothing except to appoint a committee of safety, while many families kept bright the lion and unicorn in the back of their chimneys. The usual resolution of grievances was passed in the beginning by an informal meeting of the inhabitants, and there was a little mob violence. As soon as they heard of the fight at Lexington, the militia started for Boston without waiting for authority. Later on, the town sent some supplies to the Continental army, and at the end it paid its troops something, with some sharp remarks against the grant of extra pay by Congress. On the whole, it was not very patriotic. It is not to be inferred, however, that the town was an agreeable retreat for Loyalists. The Committee of Safety had most extensive powers, and it used them. It opened letters, detained vessels, arrested suspects, and imprisoned or removed them, and drafted troops into the Continental army. Mr. Bliss speaks of it rather warmly as a reign of terror, but this seems an exaggeration. The records of the Committee are not in existence, and in their absence it is to be taken for granted that the common sense of this eminently sober neighborhood kept it from any very violent excesses.

The liveliness of Mr. Bliss's narrative does not conceal the quietness, the sombre severity indeed, of the life he describes. In spite of its occasional merrymaking, pleasure-seeking was rare, and prosperity was won only by close and unfailing economy. The people had the satisfaction which comes from deserved success and robust health; and, physically at least, their descendants have gained little or nothing in the complex and exciting life which has taken the place of the old simplicity.

In reviewing so interesting a book, fault-finding is a disagreeable task, but the want of any index and the poor quality of the illustrations must be mentioned.

BOOKS ABOUT THE STAGE.

Masks or Faces. A Study in the Psychology of Acting. By William Archer. Longmans, Green & Co.

The Life and Adventures of Edmund Kean, Tragedian. By J. Fitzgerald Molloy. 2 vols. London: Ward & Downey; New York: Scribner & Welford.

Frederick Lemaître. Étude biographique et critique. Par L. Henry Lecomte. 2 vols. New York: F. W. Christern.

A Society Star, or, She Would Be An Actress. A Novel. By Chandos Fulton. New York: G. W. Dillingham.

Le Comédien. Par Albert Le Roy. Paris: Lemerre; New York: F. W. Christern.

Les Planches: Roman Moderne. Par Jean Blaize. Paris: Librairie Illustré; New York: F. W. Christern.

MR. WILLIAM ARCHER has deserved well of all those who have an intelligent affection for the stage. He is at once the best equipped, the most acute, and the most independent of English dramatic critics; he is the Sarcey of London. It happens to us to disagree with his conclusions sometimes (although infrequently), but we have an unfailing respect for his judgment. He has studied the stage diligently, and has seized the vital principles of the dramatic art. In the 'Obiter Dicta' of Mr. Birrell there is a clever paper on the actor and on the influence of his profession on the man himself; but if any one desires to see the difference between

mere superficial (not to say verbal) cleverness and the writing of a man who has the root of the matter in him, we suggest a comparison of this paper of Mr. Birrell's with the equally brilliant but far deeper, sounder, and more convincing essay to be found in Mr. Archer's "About the Theatre." Where Mr. Birrell is flippant and contemptuous, Mr. Archer is dignified and sincere; and the superiority of his knowledge and of his insight is beyond question. In 'Masks or Faces?' Mr. Archer takes up again the vexed question as to whether an actor should feel his part, and how far he feels it, and how far his feeling it helps or hurts the impression made by his acting. In the 'Paradoxe sur le Comédien,' Diderot declared that an actor should not feel while he is acting; and the most accomplished and successful comedian of our time, M. Coquelin, declares that Diderot's is no paradox, but a simple statement of fact. Mr. Archer easily shows that Diderot is inconsistent with himself, and that his deductions were made on insufficient evidence. Mr. Archer has, therefore, now that the question is open again, searched the records of the stage for anecdotes bearing on the point, and he has addressed a series of questions to the leading performers of the day, many of whom answered fully. Much of this new material thus adduced is interesting and important; it sheds light on the individual actors of our time as well as affords evidence for the verdict on the main question. Among those who freely supplied Mr. Archer with their own experiences were Sig. Salvini, Miss Mary Anderson, Mrs. Kendal, Mrs. Bancroft, Mr. John Drew, and Mr. Boucicault.

The result of a careful study of this mass of evidence and of the author's summing up has been to convert one, at least, of Mr. Archer's readers who had hitherto been in agreement with Diderot and M. Coquelin, and who now inclines to the belief that M. Coquelin has pressed his contention too far, and that Diderot's 'Paradoxe' is a paradox still. No doubt the position of the extreme emotionalist is as far out as the attitude of the implacable anti-emotionalist. M. Coquelin declares that the actor should feel at rehearsal, during his study of the character, while he is mastering his part, but, that once acquired, the actor should be able to repeat it at will with unfeeling certainty. Mr. Archer shows that, while the actor should be able to do this, he ought also to be able to infuse feeling into his performance, keeping a tight rein on it and never allowing it to run away with him. (See the admirable illustration supplied by Mr. Elwin Booth and quoted by Mr. Archer, p. 71, from an interview with Mr. Lawrence Barrett.) We cannot dwell longer on this point, but we may heartily recommend Mr. Archer's book to all who are interested in the art of acting or in the psychology of aesthetics. The author has spared no pains to give the reader pleasure: his style is direct and brilliant; his arrangement is logical and coherent, and his research has been tireless. Of the mass of stories which he could have cited from the endless histrionic biographies, one can note the omission of no pertinent anecdote save that told by Mrs. Mowatt in the 'Autobiography of an Actress' about the late E. L. Davenport's laughing asides, as the *Stranger*, while the spectators were dissolved in tears by the pathos of their performance. Mr. Archer's book is excellently printed, with neatly arranged marginal notes and an adequate index.

That acting is an art, and an art of great difficulty and delicacy—this is the ultimate moral of Mr. Archer's book; and it is an interesting coincidence that it should be published

almost simultaneously with new biographies of Edmund Kean and Frédéric Lemaître, actors who are popularly accepted as typical innovators, rejecting wholly the traditions of the old school, and relying on impulse rather than on art. There is a certain similarity between the French actor and the English, and it would be easy to construct a parallel. The elder Dumas felt this likeness, and it led him to prepare for Lemaître the play of "Kean, ou Désordre et Génie," of which Thackeray made so much fun in the 'Paris Sketch-Book,' but which survives none the less, although chiefly in Italian.

There are already two biographies of Kean, by "Barry Cornwall" and by Mr. F. W. Hawkins; and there are also two briefer and less worthy biographies of Lemaître. Whatever the similarity of the lives of the two actors, the present biographies are as different as may be. M. Lecomte is painstaking, precise, elaborate, and complete; Mr. Molloy is haphazard and happy-go-lucky. M. Lecomte begins at the beginning and sets down every fact of Frédéric's career. He discusses every play the actor performed in exact chronologic sequence, sketching the plot, noting the part, appending the criticisms, and collecting the anecdotes; no other actor of the nineteenth century has yet been honored by a life as careful and as conscientious as this. Mr. Molloy, who once accomplished the feat of writing an alleged biography of Peg Woffington in several consecutive chapters of which that lady's name did not even appear, has been a little more circumspect in this second attempt at a histrionic life; although he is still prone to start off on a tangent and to lug in any anecdote which he finds under his hand, whether it relates to the hero himself or to his rivals or to any one else in the same century and hemisphere with the hero, yet he manages to repeat effectively enough the accepted version of Kean's career. He seems to have collected nearly all the stories afloat about the great actor and to have set them all down, holding one as good as another. Mr. Molloy is entirely lacking in the critical faculty, and no reader of his book will get from it any exact idea of Kean's powers or position as an actor. A more striking likeness and a more lifelike portrait can be found in the few pages about Kean, written two or three years ago by Mr. Elwin Booth, than in all the two volumes of Mr. Molloy. We are sorry to have to say also that the book abounds in misprints, "De Champ" for "De Camp" (i., 33, *et seq.*), for example; "Joe Cowen" for "Cowell" (i., 133); "Gulferet" for "Gilfert" (ii., p. 135); "Eradene" for "Eradne" (ii., 256). From Mr. Fitzgerald Molloy, "we don't expect grammar, but at least" he might read proof.

As we have said already, M. Lecomte's book is as careful as Mr. Molloy's is careless; and it is at least as interesting. Kean played few new parts, while Lemaître was the chief actor of the Romantic revolt, playing leading characters in the plays of Hugo, Dumas, Lamartine, Balzac, and their fellows. For him, too, that altogether unequalled melodramatist M. Denney wrote his best plays, "Don César de Bazan," "Paillasse," "Le Vieux Caporal." It was Frédéric who created Félix Pyat's "Chiffonier de Paris," and who transformed "Robert Macaire." Of all these performances M. Lecomte gives full particulars, with untiring labor, having had special advantages in the use of the documents confided to him by the actor himself. Upon the subject of Lemaître's failings, which were not a few, M. Lecomte is sufficiently frank—with the frankness possible nowadays only to a Frenchman.

The last three volumes on our list are novels of theatrical life; one is American and two are French. Of the American story, one need say little or nothing; it is dull and empty, and does not call for serious criticism. Of the two French stories, one at least would deserve elaborate consideration did our space permit; this is 'Les Planches,' one of the best of recent histrionic novels, in the strongest character of which we seem to recognize certain peculiarities of Frédéric Lemaître. 'Le Comédien' is far from equaling 'Les Planches.' In fact, it is hardly unfair to call 'Le Comédien' the ordinary French novel of commerce, with an accidental actor as its hero. Like many French novels it has a tendency towards lewdness for its own sake—although its structure and its character drawing lead us to class it rather with the *romans Ohnettes* than with the *romans Naturalistes*, as the French punster has distinguished them.

Considering how often French novelists of late have chosen their heroes, and especially their heroines, from among stage-folk, and considering also that the constant dramatization of successful novels brings the writers of fiction into close contact with the people of the theatre, it is not a little remarkable that there are so few good novels of theatrical life. Mme. Gréville failed with 'Rose Rozier' as M. Georges Ohnet failed with 'Lise Fleuron,' while M. Jules Claretie (now the manager of the Comédie-Française) almost succeeded with 'Le Troisième Dessous'; and more serious writers, like M. Zola with 'Nana' (in so far as 'Nana' is a study of the French stage), and M. de Goncourt, with 'La Faustine,' have done no better. M. Cadol's 'Rose' and M. Edgar Monteil's 'Cornebois' are perhaps the best tales of theatrical life in France in our day; 'Cornebois' is far less conventional than 'Rose,' and nearer to the actual facts of existence. 'Les Planches' is worthy to be ranked with these. It is a careful study of certain conditions of the French stage. But a perusal of no one of these stories, good, bad, or indifferent, is likely to raise one's opinion of the manners and morals of the contemporary French theatre. Perhaps 'Cornebois' is the most wholesome of the lot, and it is a sorry set of people among whom he moves, and he is but a sorry hero. But his story and that of 'Les Planches' impress the reader with a sense of reality, and the trouble with most theatrical novels is that the artificiality we find on the stage is carried over into the book. They are painfully unreal. In 'Le Comédien,' for instance, we have the exotic princess of overwhelming passions—and she is no more convincing in M. Le Roy's book than she was in M. Daudet's 'L'Immortel.' Perhaps, after all, making full allowance for its artificiality, 'Peg Woffington' is as good a study of histrionic character as we can find in any story.

The Building of the British Isles: A Study in Geographical Evolution. By A. J. Jukes-Browne, B.A., F.G.S. London: George Bell & Son; New York: Scribner & Welford. Pp. 343, illustrated with maps and woodcuts. This treatise comes to us in the welcome uniform of Bohn's Library. The subject of it concerns the most modern and on many accounts the most interesting department of geological science. The earlier students of that science, as soon as they had apprehended the vast revolutions which had been undergone by land and sea, hurried to the conclusion that our continents are essentially unstable, changing places with the seas in such manner that what in one great age is ocean floor may at another time be

altered into land ; the lands, in the meantime, sinking into the depths to take the place in the functions of the earth of the obliterated oceans. This simple and rude conception as to the metamorphoses of sea and land has of late, under the influence of more careful studies, been giving place to the hypothesis which suggests that the continents are great permanences, varying their forms from age to age, now submerged in this part and now in that, but for all that essentially constant. At present, probably the greater number of our geologists are adherents of this hypothesis. They owe this theory to the clear thought of Dr. James D. Dana, and something of its general adoption is doubtless due to the deserved influence of his great name. Other students, however, notably Dr. A. R. Wallace from the point of view of the distribution of animals, and Dr. Geikie from a more strictly geological standpoint, have maintained the same view. Mr. Jukes-Browne's book is directed to the end of demonstrating the essential error of Dr. Dana's hypothesis, though in the end he does not depart altogether from that view, since he only insists that the range in the alteration of the position and form of the continents is greater than that supposed by Dana and his school, though less extensive than was supposed by Sir Charles Lyell.

The geographic evolution of the British Isles is the main topic, though occasionally the difficulty of treating separately this narrow field leads the author to consider the geographical changes of other regions about the North Atlantic. Taking in succession the several periods from the Cambrian to the present day, the author endeavors, by assembling the remarkable work done by his predecessors on the history of the British rocks, to reconstruct the form of those islands and of the neighboring continent at each stage in the earth's history. The array of facts set forth is remarkable, both for the range and variety of the data and for the clearness which generally characterizes its presentation. It is doubtful if any other publication on geology of equal size presents as large a body of well-digested observations. It is of his inferences, together with the very numerous incidental hypotheses which our author adduces, that his critics will find reason to complain. On these points he will seem to most geologists to be open to some criticism. In the beginning of his treatise he assumes that at the dawn of the Cambrian period "the surface of the earth seems to have been extraordinarily rugged and uneven, exhibiting a series of lofty mountain ridges separated by deep troughs and hollows, the bottoms of which were 10,000 or 12,000 feet below the summits of the ridges." The evidence on which this assumed rudeness of the outline of the ancient earth rests is of a very doubtful nature. If the existing mountains of Switzerland were lowered beneath the level of the sea and their valleys filled by stratified deposits, the naturalist who should study them after their subsequent elevation, might as justly come to the notion that the surface of the earth in our day was extraordinarily rugged and uneven, as our author does from the study of the pre-Cambrian beds of Great Britain. No such evidence of extraordinary ruggedness in the pre-Cambrian land is afforded by the wide fields of those strata in North America.

Among the most important data used by the geologist in determining the history of continental areas are the accumulations of conglomerates which are plentifully distributed in the various geological horizons. On the theory as to the origin of these conglomerates must rest in large part the interpretation of the con-

tinental history. It seems to the present writer that our author has failed to apprehend the meaning of such extensive conglomerates as those of the Cambrian section in North America, as well as those of the Carboniferous and later ages. He apparently does not see how necessary it is to suppose that these vast thicknesses of pebbly beds were the product of glacial action. He tacitly assumes that such wide fields of conglomerate were formed by the work done in the river basins and by the waves of the ocean. His failure to discuss this part of the evidence to the point of a satisfactory conclusion seems a defect in the method of his admirable treatise.

Throughout, our author assumes the existence of a continent of considerable size over the North Atlantic—land which endured from the earlier stages to relatively recent geological times. The evidence on which this assumption rests is extremely limited and of a very unsatisfactory character. All the facts can be sufficiently accounted for on the assumption of a considerable island or an archipelago to the northwest of the British Isles, occupying but a small part of what is now the Atlantic area. The difference between the organic species fossil in the rocks of North America from the palaeozoic ages, and those of Europe of like age, leads the palaeontologist rather to the assumption that there has generally been deep water in the North Atlantic, which afforded a barrier to the free intercourse of the organic forms of the shallow water near the shore. If there had been during these ages a continuous seashore from Europe to North America, it seems unlikely that such a separation in the species would have occurred. In the present state of our knowledge, it is a matter of uncertainty whether there was such a land or no. Its existence should not be assumed as a basis for other hypotheses.

In treating of the last glacial period, our author asserts that "there is no doubt that what took place in the last glacial period was simply an extension of the glacial conditions which now exist in the polar regions." In the present condition of the controversy as to the conditions of glacial time, this appears to us a very unsupported statement. Clearly, our author would not maintain that the existing glaciers in Switzerland or New Zealand imply simply the extension of glaciers which now exist in the Polar regions to the places in question. The character of the land mammals which lived upon the continent of North America during the glacial period appears to indicate the existence of a plentiful vegetation close up to the ice sheet. It seems more than possible that, so far from being essentially like the existing arctic climate, that of the glacial period differed decidedly from the present circumpolar conditions, in that the rainfall was very great and the cold by no means extreme. This and many other like criticisms on the details of this book will be made by geologists. Glacialists in particular will object to many of its statements concerning the last ice time. Nevertheless, the work is admirable in its conception, and is executed in a skilful and vigorous manner. It is by far the most important contribution to geologic science which the year 1888 gave us. The book is well printed; the maps are, however, insufficient, and the index fails to give a clue to the abundant store of facts contained in the volume.

At Home and in War. By Alexander Verestchagin. Translated by Isabel F. Hapgood. T. Y. Crowell & Co.

THE naïve egotism which permeates the pages of "At Home and in War" is partly racial,

and partly an individual possession of Colonel Verestchagin. To a book descriptive of scenes and people unfamiliar to us, this quality, through which we are let into many secrets, is not detrimental, yet no human characteristic can easily become more offensive. When a sense of self-importance prompts the author minutely to describe his father's estates and the life and customs of lord and serf, it is very valuable; but when it assumes that the public will be as much interested in his existence from infancy up as he was himself, it becomes, to say the least, fatiguing. Not even the photographs of the family with which the book is thoughtfully embellished, persuade us to care about what the Verestchagins ate and wore, or whether they ate or dressed at all.

When the author leaves home for war, he has less time for self-contemplation and becomes more interesting. He took part both in the Balkan war and the later Tekke campaign. In the former he was closely attached to the great "white general," Skobelev. Being no worshipper of heroes, outside of the Verestchagin family, he does not hesitate frankly to express his opinions of famous men. Thus his portraits are vivid, and seem to have that discrimination which makes historical value. He exposes official corruption with commendable fearlessness, and directly imputes to the negligence and greed of people in power many of the appalling horrors of war. The picturesque and impressive in nature affect him deeply, and the pageantry of moving hosts made up of a dozen semi-barbarous races does not escape him. His sense for dramatic situations is quick and correct, and he describes tragic incidents with spirit and effect. The pages are strewn with personal anecdotes more or less worth telling.

One of these, in view of Skobelev's sudden death, bears quotation. Two soldiers had just been buried in an Asiatic desert, and the priest concluding the service exclaimed: "And the glory of man is as a smoke which vanisheth." Skobelev, riding back to camp from the graves, said to an officer, Baranov: "See here, Alexei Nikititch, that pope was tipsy, but he told the truth when he said, 'The glory of man is as a smoke that vanisheth.'" Two years later the General was dining in Duzean's hotel at Moscow, and turning to Baranov he said, "Do you remember Alexei Nikititch—'And the glory of man is as a smoke that vanisheth'?" Four hours later Skobelev was no longer among the living.

Force and Energy: A Theory of Dynamics.
By Grant Allen. Longmans. 1888. Pp. xiv., 161.

WHEN Mr. Grant Allen was writing the preface to this small book on a great subject, he must have had very vividly before his mind the fact that critics are a thick-skinned and hard-hearted race. Not once, but twice and thrice, does he profess his expectation of being summarily put out of court, and his humble resolve to take his sentence meekly and for ever after hold his peace; not briefly, but with great detail, and with much dwelling upon the peculiar circumstances, does he explain how he happened to publish this book, in spite of his extreme reluctance to come before the world with radically new theories on a subject of which he does not profess to be in any sense a master; until, at last, the most relentless persecutor of paradoxers begins to feel some stirrings of mercy, and to resolve that, whatever may be said of the offence, the offender at least shall, for the nonce, be treated gently.

It appears that the essential elements of the

theory expounded in this volume were contained in a pamphlet printed for private circulation by Mr. Allen some years ago. The physicists to whom Mr. Allen sent the pamphlet—or those of them who communicated their opinion of it to the author—came to one of two conclusions, which to the author seemed, naturally enough, to be contradictory. Some told him that his theory contained nothing but what was perfectly well known; others, that his theory was in conflict with what was perfectly well known. Unfortunately, however, it is the peculiar distinction of paradoxers upon subjects of this kind, that they are able to combine these two qualities in one and the same theoretical venture. It is not merely that "what is new is not true, and what is true is not new," but that the self-same thing is neither new nor true. The way in which this feat is accomplished is not so mysterious as one might at first blush suppose that it must be; all that is necessary is, that one should have got hold of the general ideas of an accepted theory in an exact science, but not have grasped its precise significance. There are some men who, having reached this stage, think that the most hopeful thing to do next is to remove any imperfections that exist in their vague conception of the theory, by such convenient interpretation of it as may enable it to "solve the universe" with all desirable expedition. And so it comes about that when the result of their meditations is published, it is found that what they suppose a new theory is nothing but the old theory so imperfectly conceived and so vaguely expressed that it is not surprising that those who are well informed should hesitate whether the verdict should be "not new" or "not true."

This is just what Mr. Allen has done for the doctrine of the conservation of energy. It is impossible to say from internal evidence whether the author has or has not any conception of the fact that the great theorem of the conservation of energy is a theorem relating to something which can be numerically measured. At any rate, he says nothing anywhere about its measure. Disclaiming to mention so subordinate a matter, and treating in the same way everything else which comes into the domain of numbers or of geometry, he strides on, scoring triumph after triumph in the profusion of capital initials spread over his pages, until the critic forgets the modest preface and repents of his momentary weakness. Does Mr. Allen not know that without exact definitions of the meaning of his terms, so that the things they refer to may be numerically measured in a definite way, his grand generalizations are nonsense? That, without them, to say that "the total amount of Power, aggregative or separative, in the Universe, is a constant quantity, and no Power can ever disappear or be destroyed," is mere empty sound? We do not, by any means, assert that the author is unaware of this; what we do venture to say is, that if he had undertaken to express his theories in that precise language in which any theory of dynamics must be expressed in order to be truly intelligible, he would have been better able to appreciate how much of their novelty arises from their vagueness.

It is not worth while to enter into detailed criticism of a book every page of which betrays its author's unconsciousness of the fundamental conditions of research in the department of which he is writing. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that there is not a single argument in the book which, so far as its mode of thought is concerned, might not have been written in the time of Aristotle. There are, indeed, plenty of good illustrations of modern doctrines; but the doctrines themselves are

given the loose and metaphysical character which belongs to two thousand years ago. Surely, whatever tolerance physicists may be expected to extend to ingenuous innovators, they have a right to demand that he who wishes to reform their science shall betray some sense of the meaning of that great intellectual conquest—perhaps the most brilliant in the history of the human mind—which began with Galileo and reached its culmination in Newton. They may be willing to listen to the most daring novelties; but they can hardly be expected to give them much heed when the propounder of them writes in the pre-Galilean spirit, and does not even seem to be conscious of it. To Mr. Allen and his kind, nothing fitter can be said than these words of Clifford's: "It is true in all departments of human action that reform is the most precious and sacred prerogative of a citizen; but in order to have that prerogative one must be a citizen, not an alien; and one must act like a citizen in a legitimate and constitutional way."

*Corpus Documentorum Inquisitionis Hare-
tice Pravitatis Neerlandicae*, uitgegeven
door Dr. Paul Fredericq en zijne Leerlingen.
Vol. I. Ghent. 1889. New York: F. W.
Christern.

THE learned professor of the University of Ghent has at length issued the first portion of his long-promised collection of documents concerning the persecution of heresy in the Low Countries. It is a massive contribution to the history of the subject, forming an octavo volume of nearly 650 pages, and giving the text of 446 official papers or extracts from chronicles, with abstracts of their contents. The period covered is from the beginning of mediaval heresy in 1025 to the outbreak of the Reformation in 1520, and the conscientious exhaustiveness of the work may be estimated from the appended list of sources, MS. and printed, amounting to 233, and forming an invaluable bibliography of Netherlandish mediaval history. Only those who have undertaken a task of the kind can appreciate the persistent industry requisite thus to search out the fragments imbedded in masses of irrelevant matter, and to gather them together in orderly sequence, so that each may reflect light upon the others.

Yet the most generally interesting portion of Dr. Fredericq's work is to come. The five centuries which he has thus traversed contain the records only of scattered and unresisting heretics—Catharans, Waldenses, Lollards, and the like—who lay in hiding and suffered in silence. The succeeding three-quarters of a century will present to us the great awakening of the human intelligence, when heresy grew bold through numbers and became a political factor; when for every heretic who perished, ten sprang up from the martyr's blood; when persecution, stimulated to the utmost, had at last to confess its ineffectiveness to control the conscience of a whole people. In the annals of mankind there are few periods more inspiring to the lover of spiritual freedom than that in which the might of Charles V. and Philip II. proved powerless to check the development of thought, and physical force exhausted itself in the vain endeavor to control the moral forces. To illustrate this period in the same thorough manner, with the same absolute command of all the sources as is displayed in the present volume, will be a service of incomparable value to the student. This first instalment only renders us more desirous of the second, and we can but hope that Dr. Fredericq will not make us wait too long for it. Probably no

epoch has been so thoroughly worked over by native scholars as that of the Reformation in the Netherlands, and it is not probable that much MS. material of importance remains to be discovered; but the documents are scattered through an endless series of volumes, transactions of learned societies, and periodicals beyond the reach of all but the most favored students. Such a guide through the labyrinth as Dr. Fredericq can furnish will be most gratefully welcomed by all who recognize that, if history is to be anything but romance, it must rest upon absolute facts.

Religionsgeschichtliche Untersuchungen. Von Hermann Usener. 1er Theil. Das Weihnachtsfest. 2er Theil: Christlicher Festbrauch, Schriften des ausgehenden Mittelalters. Bonn: Max Cohen & Sohn.

No festival of the Christian Church is so popular or so universally observed as that of Christmas; and yet it is a well-known fact that the early Christians not only did not celebrate the birth of Christ on the 25th of December, but had no birthday festival at all, the great holidays of the primitive Church being Easter and Whitsunday, the anniversaries of the resurrection and of the foundation of the Church. The investigation of the times and circumstances of the origin of the Christmas festival leads one upon ground which the theologian can hardly tread without assuming a polemical attitude, and such an attitude almost inevitably leads to a distortion of the truth. It is, therefore, a matter for general congratulation that this work has been undertaken by a layman, especially as that layman is the one man best fitted to cope with the difficulties of his task. Prof. Usener, some of whose work in the field of early Christian legend has been noticed in the *Nation* (vol. xliv., No. 1123, p. 15), has lately published under the above title the results of long and diligent study of the MSS. and other sources of information concerning the introduction of the Christmas festival.

Until the middle of the fourth century, Christmas was not separated from Epiphany, and Prof. Usener, therefore, devotes a large part of his book to the discussion of the festival of January 6. He proves, with his customary historical accuracy and philological acumen, that neither the story of the baptism of Christ nor that of his birth was an original part of any of the three synoptic Gospels, but that they (or the originals from which they are derived) began, like the lost Gospel of Marcion, with the beginning of Christ's teaching. The baptism of Jesus is referred to in the Acts of the Apostles, but St. Paul knows nothing of it, nor of his miraculous birth. It is impossible to follow here the details of Prof. Usener's arguments, or even to give a complete summary of his results, of which some are new, while others confirm those of previous writers. He shows, apparently with conclusive evidence, that the first part of our canonic Gospel was added at so late a time (probably early in the second century) that but little confidence can be placed in it. His investigation is, however, inspired by no hostility to Christianity, but by real love of truth, as is shown by his own words:

"As surely as it is a God of light and truth whom we adore, so surely are we doing true and acceptable service to God in purifying and cleansing from the human inventions which darken it the truth of the religion we profess. Where it is possible to know, it becomes immoral to confine one's self to belief and opinion. It is painful to give up the heavenly images of our youth, far more painful to disturb the faith of others. We must bear that like men, in the confidence that the divine kernel of our religion, freed from the human additions of fancy and dogma, will prove itself to coming

riper generations only the more efficient as a fountain of salvation and a pinion to raise them to God."

Epiphany began to be celebrated as the anniversary of the baptism of Jesus early in the second century, and the celebration of his birth was soon united with that of his baptism. This double festival attained to great importance among the feasts of the Church, especially in the East. The first celebration of Christmas in Rome as a holiday distinct from Epiphany took place in the year 354, but the new festival was not accepted by the Church of Jerusalem before 451. The story that the day of the birth of Christ was discovered by the investigations of Julius I, undertaken at the request of Cyril, Bishop of Jerusalem, is a mere invention.

As it is difficult to discuss part of a problem without throwing some light upon the rest, no one will wonder that the discussion of Epiphany and Christmas leads Prof. Usener to mention other days of the Church calendar. So the *litanie minor* before the day of the ascension is shown to have taken the place of the Roman *ambarealia*, and the *litanie minor* of the 25th of April that of the *Robigalia*. The observance of Candlemas (February 2), too, is of heathen origin, being a survival of the Roman *amburale*.

As Part II. of his 'Untersuchungen,' Prof. Usener publishes, with a masterly introduction, a Latin MS. in the library of Wolfenbüttel, which contains a description by a presbyter named Also of the Christmas practices of the Bohemians at the beginning of the fifteenth century, and Also's notes on the Bohemian observance of St. John's Day. Prof. Usener adds parts of Johannes of Holleschau's *Largum Seru*, and a curious list of questions to be asked in the confessional concerning vulgar superstitions. This list is contained in a MS. of the library in Munich, and is unusually interesting to the student of folk-lore on account of the light it throws upon the superstitious practices and popular beliefs of the Bavarians. Prof. Usener promises to continue his contributions to religious history, and every student of religion, ecclesiastical history, or folk-lore must join in the wish that nothing may interfere with the fulfilment of his promise.

The History of Fairfield, Fairfield County, Connecticut, from the Settlement of the Town in 1639 to 1818. By Mrs. Elizabeth Hubbell Schenck. Vol. I. New York: Published by the Author. 1889. 8vo, pp. 423.

It appears from the preface that in 1880 the author of this work was requested by a number of the inhabitants of Fairfield to write the his-

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tory of the town. The present volume carries the record to 1700, and a second volume is promised. We desire to congratulate the town upon having so good an historian, and we trust that every inhabitant who can afford it will become a subscriber. But as a reviewer we must record our regret at the scale on which the history has been projected. That the author has read and observed much is evident, but nine-tenths of her book has only the most remote relation to the special history of Fairfield. She has written a history of Connecticut in the eighteenth century, but the local flavor is gone. There is indeed much told about the town, but it is so overlaid by the extraneous matter that one can hardly separate it. So far as we can judge, the local history is unimportant, or valuable chiefly to the natives. But that is true of most other towns in New England, whose annals are uneventful and very much confined to a genealogical interest. We regret that Mrs. Schenck has been unwilling to give more space to family history, for she is evidently able to do good work in this direction. As an example, we would refer to what she prints about the pedigree of Gov. Roger Ludlow.

We can only say that the book probably contains all that can be found respecting Fairfield, and that the reader will be well repaid for perusing the whole contents attentively, unless he has already made himself familiar with the general history of the period. The second volume is to contain, undoubtedly, more particular records of lands and persons in the last century.

Practical Heraldry, or an Epitome of English Armory, etc. By Charles Worthy, Esq. Scribner & Welford. 1889. 16mo, pp. 250.

With all tenderness for a writer upon a subject which attracts but a small audience, we fail to see the object of this publication. Heraldry is a completed science, and new handbooks are justifiable only when they present some happy method of arrangement or condensation, or are enriched by new illustrations and examples from rare manuscripts. Mr. Worthy's book has none of these merits, being diffuse and unmethedical, while his illustrations are simply execrable. The only novelty is the insertion of some instructions as to the preparation of a pedigree. In regard to these we can only say that no man entitled to such a pedigree as he imagines, would be so ignorant of general matters as to need a guide to such preliminaries. No one, who, like most of us, is of a family unrecorded in Heralds' College, can get any useful information out of the book. Mr. Worthy intimates the possibility of a

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1125c, 1150c, 1175c, 1200c, 1225c, 1250c, 1275c,
1300c, 1325c, 1350c, 1375c, 1400c, 1425c, 1450c,
1475c, 1500c, 1525c, 1550c, 1575c, 1600c, 1625c,
1650c, 1675c, 1700c, 1725c, 1750c, 1775c, 1800c,
1825c, 1850c, 1875c, 1900c, 1925c, 1950c, 1975c,
2000c, 2025c, 2050c, 2075c, 2100c, 2125c, 2150c,
2175c, 2200c, 2225c, 2250c, 2275c, 2300c, 2325c,
2350c, 2375c, 2400c, 2425c, 2450c, 2475c, 2500c,
2525c, 2550c, 2575c, 2600c, 2625c, 2650c, 2675c,
2700c, 2725c, 2750c, 2775c, 2800c, 2825c, 2850c,
2875c, 2900c, 2925c, 2950c, 2975c, 3000c, 3025c,
3050c, 3075c, 3100c, 3125c, 3150c, 3175c, 3200c,
3225c, 3250c, 3275c, 3300c, 3325c, 3350c, 3375c,
3400c, 3425c, 3450c, 3475c, 3500c, 3525c, 3550c,
3575c, 3600c, 3625c, 3650c, 3675c, 3700c, 3725c,
3750c, 3775c, 3800c, 3825c, 3850c, 3875c, 3900c,
3925c, 3950c, 3975c, 4000c, 4025c, 4050c, 4075c,
4100c, 4125c, 4150c, 4175c, 4200c, 4225c, 4250c,
4275c, 4300c, 4325c, 4350c, 4375c, 4400c, 4425c,
4450c, 4475c, 4500c, 4525c, 4550c, 4575c, 4600c,
4625c, 4650c, 4675c, 4700c, 4725c, 4750c, 4775c,
4800c, 4825c, 4850c, 4875c, 4900c, 4925c, 4950c,
4975c, 5000c, 5025c, 5050c, 5075c, 5100c, 5125c,
5150c, 5175c, 5200c, 5225c, 5250c, 5275c, 5300c,
5325c, 5350c, 5375c, 5400c, 5425c, 5450c, 5475c,
5500c, 5525c, 5550c, 5575c, 5600c, 5625c, 5650c,
5675c, 5700c, 5725c, 5750c, 5775c, 5800c, 5825c,
5850c, 5875c, 5900c, 5925c, 5950c, 5975c, 6000c,
6025c, 6050c, 6075c, 6100c, 6125c, 6150c, 6175c,
6200c, 6225c, 6250c, 6275c, 6300c, 6325c, 6350c,
6375c, 6400c, 6425c, 6450c, 6475c, 6500c, 6525c,
6550c, 6575c, 6600c, 6625c, 6650c, 6675c, 6700c,
6725c, 6750c, 6775c, 6800c, 6825c, 6850c, 6875c,
6900c, 6925c, 6950c, 6975c, 7000c, 7025c, 7050c,
7075c, 7100c, 7125c, 7150c, 7175c, 7200c, 7225c,
7250c, 7275c, 7300c, 7325c, 7350c, 7375c, 7400c,
7425c, 7450c, 7475c, 7500c, 7525c, 7550c, 7575c,
7600c, 7625c, 7650c, 7675c, 7700c, 7725c, 7750c,
7775c, 7800c, 7825c, 7850c, 7875c, 7900c, 7925c,
7950c, 7975c, 8000c, 8025c, 8050c, 8075c, 8100c,
8125c, 8150c, 8175c, 8200c, 8225c, 8250c, 8275c,
8300c, 8325c, 8350c, 8375c, 8400c, 8425c, 8450c,
8475c, 8500c, 8525c, 8550c, 8575c, 8600c, 8625c,
8650c, 8675c, 8700c, 8725c, 8750c, 8775c, 8800c,
8825c, 8850c, 8875c, 8900c, 8925c, 8950c, 8975c,
9000c, 9025c, 9050c, 9075c, 9100c, 9125c, 9150c,
9175c, 9200c, 9225c, 9250c, 9275c, 9300c, 9325c,
9350c, 9375c, 9400c, 9425c, 9450c, 9475c, 9500c,
9525c, 9550c, 9575c, 9600c, 9625c, 9650c, 9675c,
9700c, 9725c, 9750c, 9775c, 9800c, 9825c, 9850c,
9875c, 9900c, 9925c, 9950c, 9975c, 10000c, 10025c,
10050c, 10075c, 10100c, 10125c, 10150c, 10175c,
10200c, 10225c, 10250c, 10275c, 10300c, 10325c,
10350c, 10375c, 10400c, 10425c, 10450c, 10475c,
10500c, 10525c, 10550c, 10575c, 10600c, 10625c,
10650c, 10675c, 10700c, 10725c, 10750c, 10775c,
10800c, 10825c, 10850c, 10875c, 10900c, 10925c,
10950c, 10975c, 11000c, 11025c, 11050c, 11075c,
11100c, 11125c, 11150c, 11175c, 11200c, 11225c,
11250c, 11275c, 11300c, 11325c, 11350c, 11375c,
11400c, 11425c, 11450c, 11475c, 11500c, 11525c,
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12600c, 12625c, 12650c, 12675c, 12700c, 12725c,
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12900c, 12925c, 12950c, 12975c, 13000c, 13025c,
13050c, 13075c, 13100c, 13125c, 13150c, 13175c,
13200c, 13225c, 13250c, 13275c, 13300c, 13325c,
13350c, 13375c, 13400c, 13425c, 13450c, 13475c,
13500c, 13525c, 13550c, 13575c, 13600c, 13625c,
13650c, 13675c, 13700c, 13725c, 13750c, 13775c,
13800c, 13825c, 13850c, 13875c, 13900c, 13925c,
13950c, 13975c, 14000c, 14025c, 14050c, 14075c,
14100c, 14125c, 14150c, 14175c, 14200c, 14225c,
14250c, 14275c, 14300c, 14325c, 14350c, 14375c,
14400c, 14425c, 14450c, 14475c, 14500c, 14525c,
14550c, 14575c, 14600c, 14625c, 14650c, 14675c,
14700c, 14725c, 14750c, 14775c, 14800c, 14825c,
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15150c, 15175c, 15200c, 15225c, 15250c, 15275c,
15300c, 15325c, 15350c, 15375c, 15400c, 15425c,
15450c, 15475c, 15500c, 15525c, 15550c, 15575c,
15600c, 15625c, 15650c, 15675c, 15700c, 15725c,
15750c, 15775c, 15800c, 15825c, 15850c, 15875c,
15900c, 15925c, 15950c, 15975c, 16000c, 16025c,
16050c, 16075c, 16100c, 16125c, 16150c, 16175c,
16200c, 16225c, 16250c, 16275c, 16300c, 16325c,
16350c, 16375c, 16400c, 16425c, 16450c, 16475c,
16500c, 16525c, 16550c, 16575c, 16600c, 16625c,
16650c, 16675c, 16700c, 16725c, 16750c, 16775c,
16800c, 16825c, 16850c, 16875c, 16900c, 16925c,
16950c, 16975c, 17000c, 17025c, 17050c, 17075c,
17100c, 17125c, 17150c, 17175c, 17200c, 17225c,
17250c, 17275c, 17300c, 17325c, 17350c, 17375c,
17400c, 17425c, 17450c, 17475c, 17500c, 17525c,
17550c, 17575c, 17600c, 17625c, 17650c, 17675c,
17700c, 17725c, 17750c, 17775c, 17800c, 17825c,
17850c, 17875c, 17900c, 17925c, 17950c, 17975c,
18000c, 18025c, 18050c, 18075c, 18100c, 18125c,
18150c, 18175c, 18200c, 18225c, 18250c, 18275c,
18300c, 18325c, 18350c, 18375c, 18400c, 18425c,
18450c, 18475c, 18500c, 18525c, 18550c, 18575c,
18600c, 18625c, 18650c, 18675c, 18700c, 18725c,
18750c, 18775c, 18800c, 18825c, 18850c, 18875c,
18900c, 18925c, 18950c, 18975c, 19000c, 19025c,
19050c, 19075c, 19100c, 19125c, 19150c, 19175c,
19200c, 19225c, 19250c, 19275c, 19300c, 19325c,
19350c, 19375c, 19400c, 19425c, 19450c, 19475c,
19500c, 19525c, 19550c, 19575c, 19600c, 19625c,
19650c, 19675c, 19700c, 19725c, 19750c, 19775c,
19800c, 19825c, 19850c, 19875c, 19900c, 19925c,
19950c, 19975c, 20000c, 20025c, 20050c, 20075c,
20100c, 20125c, 20150c, 20175c, 20200c, 20225c,
20250c, 20275c, 20300c, 20325c, 20350c, 20375c,
20400c, 20425c, 20450c, 20475c, 20500c, 20525c,
20550c, 20575c, 20600c, 20625c, 20650c, 20675c,
20700c, 20725c, 20750c, 20775c, 20800c, 20825c,
20850c, 20875c, 20900c, 20925c, 20950c, 20975c,
21000c, 21025c, 21050c, 21075c, 21100c, 21125c,
21150c, 21175c, 21200c, 21225c, 21250c, 21275c,
21300c, 21325c, 21350c, 21375c, 21400c, 21425c,
21450c, 21475c, 21500c, 21525c, 21550c, 21575c,
21600c, 21625c, 21650c, 21675c, 21700c, 21725c,
21750c, 21775c, 21800c, 21825c, 21850c, 21875c,
21900c, 21925c, 21950c, 21975c, 22000c, 22025c,
22050c, 22075c, 22100c, 22125c, 22150c, 22175c,
22200c, 22225c, 22250c, 22275c, 22300c, 22325c,
22350c, 22375c, 22400c, 22425c, 22450c, 22475c,
22500c, 22525c, 22550c, 22575c, 22600c, 22625c,
22650c, 22675c, 22700c, 22725c, 22750c, 22775c,
22800c, 22825c, 22850c, 22875c, 22900c, 22925c,
22950c, 22975c, 23000c, 23025c, 23050c, 23075c,
23100c, 23125c, 23150c, 23175c, 23200c, 23225c,
23250c, 23275c, 23300c, 23325c, 23350c, 23375c,
23400c, 23425c, 23450c, 23475c, 23500c, 23525c,
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23700c, 23725c, 23750c, 23775c, 23800c, 23825c,
23850c, 23875c, 23900c, 23925c, 23950c, 23975c,
24000c, 24025c, 24050c, 24075c, 24100c, 24125c,
24150c, 24175c, 24200c, 24225c, 24250c, 24275c,
24300c, 24325c, 24350c, 24375c, 24400c, 24425c,
24450c, 24475c, 24500c, 24525c, 24550c, 24575c,
24600c, 24625c, 24650c, 24675c, 24700c, 24725c,
24750c, 24775c, 24800c, 24825c, 24850c, 24875c,
24900c, 24925c, 24950c, 24

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